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Editor's Notes

In January we concentrated our attention on a single country, Niger. In this issue the focus of all the articles is on the development of the rural areas in which the vast majority of the Third World peoples of Africa, Asia and the Far East all dwell.

Mick Moore examines the situation of small farmers in Sri Lanka where he sees the need for local institutions to fulfil economic rather than political functions with the particular objective of mobilising the resources available and making a more effective use of the rural land base.

Dr Qamar maintains that existing extension services are out-of-date and need to be reorganised if they are to meet the needs of modern rural communities. He is generalising about the services in developing countries and few would differ from him when he suggests that what is needed is the creation of inter-disciplinary extension teams with their members located together or in close proximity to each other, with their Head at provincial level rotating between the departments concerned; and with teams staffed by adequately qualified manpower . . . *ergo* the urgent need for practically-oriented training programmes.

Dr Okafor in a cogently argued short article, draws attention to the present weaknesses in the extension service operating in South-East Nigeria: there should, he feels, be greater concentration on the needs of small farmers who should be provided with readier access to specialist assistance. For, as he believes, it is the Nigerian small farmer who can step up productivity significantly and, if given the chance, can through his efforts go far towards achieving national self-sufficiency in food.

'Integrated Rural Development' is now a generally accepted concept for Third World development: but when the distinguished Akhter Hameed Khan began his community/rural development project at Comilla in what was then East Pakistan, he was embarked on a virtually unique experiment. We welcome the opportunities offered by Paris Andreou and Ahmed Ghaui to draw attention to the success achieved at Comilla and to its value as a model for the rest of rural Bangladesh.

Finally, to sum it all up, a joint article by four Administration specialists associated with Development Alternatives Inc, provides an overview of the problems faced by those concerned with Integrated Rural Development, and puts forward suggestions as to how a two-fold development administration/organisation strategy could be the best approach for dealing with the Third World's immense rural problems.

Social Structure and Institutional Performance: Local Farmers' Organisations in Sri Lanka

M. P. MOORE*

Introduction

A pervasive theme in rural policy in many developing countries is the search for local institutional forms which will elicit the widespread participation of the population and serve to both mobilise and channel resources into the development of the local economy. This theme has been especially marked in South Asia, for two main reasons. One is the strength of the tradition of political democracy. The other is the legacy of the Gandhian emphasis on the potential vitality of the local rural community. Gandhian ideology has of course been most deeply rooted and influential in India, but it has percolated through various channels into official ideology and policy in most other countries of the region.

Partly because of the support lent by Gandhian ideology, the promotion of local participatory organisation has been attended with more success in India than in other countries. 'Success' can of course be defined in a variety of ways, but three main approaches or criteria stand out. The first might be called the 'developmental criterion': do local institutions meet what is usually their main stated purpose – the mobilisation and wise use of financial and material resources to promote local development? The second, the 'equity criterion', is about the effectiveness of these institutions in representing the interests of the masses/the poor etc. The third, the 'political criterion', is whether or not local institutions contribute to the construction of a stable and deeply-rooted polity – in common parlance, nation-building. It is on the latter criterion in particular – nation-building – that the Indian system of three-tier elected *panchayati raj* institutions can be said to be more successful than similar attempts elsewhere in South Asia.[1] In the case of the developmental and equity criteria the success of the Indian experience is more open to doubt. But undoubtedly progress has been made, partly because local institutions have been successful on the political criterion: they have acquired and disposed of substantial resources, come to play a major role in the political process, and, above all, *persisted*. The same cannot be said of other South Asian countries, especially Sri Lanka.

Local Institutions in Sri Lanka

In India local institutions have been marked by relative persistence; in Sri Lanka by

*The author is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, UK.

[1]A discussion of the Indian case can be found in R. Kothari, *Politics in India*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1970, pp 132-136.

discontinuity. Local institutions have come and gone – sometimes by formal abolition, but also through informal decay – and have been revived, reformed and reconstituted. Since Independence the following kinds of local organisation have been established on state initiative: a wide variety of single-purpose cooperatives; Multipurpose Cooperatives with a territorial jurisdiction formed by forced amalgamation of all other cooperative institutions; voluntary aided local development associations called Rural Development Societies; statutory Cultivation Committees to perform agricultural functions; Agricultural Productivity Committees to supervise Cultivation Committees; Cultivation Officers to replace Cultivation Committees and Agrarian Services Committees to replace Agricultural Productivity Committees; politically-appointed People's Committees for vigilance purposes; elected local government bodies. It would require several pages to catalogue the main policy changes affecting such bodies over the last two or three decades:[1] changes of name, constitution, method of selection, powers, functions, composition, jurisdiction or very existence. There is no sign that, after continual agitation, the mix is beginning to set: the new government elected in 1977 has either embarked on or promised radical reforms affecting every one of the institutions listed above. This continual shift in policy primarily reflects neither the fertility of the administrative mind nor the fine tuning of a machine beginning to purr sweetly. It results above all from a very poor pattern performance and thus dissatisfaction with most experiments. Discussion in the latest round was sometimes tinged with desperation: 'We have tried everything! What next?' The problem as seen by administrators is to find formulae for local institutions which will work at all. The problem is not on the whole that institutions represent the rich and propertied, that they are corrupt, or that they spend money unwisely. There are of course concerns in these areas, but they are subordinate to the main concern of institutional weakness: local organisations which exist only on paper or, even worse, those which do not have the capacity even to go through the procedures which will ensure their continued legality.

Diagnosis

The issues mentioned above are familiar, often to the point of boredom, with Sri Lankan administrators and academics. Innumerable verbal diagnoses of the problem are available, and some analysis has been committed to paper.[2] It is easy to believe that there is nothing new to be said. This is however false. Most diagnoses are in fact based on listings of observed problems. They end with either normative appeals that the problems should be tackled or, slightly more usefully, with some suggestions about how problems may be tackled. The method is however, to use a somewhat pompous term, 'unscientific'. The purpose of this paper is to

[1] A Summary of the main points can be found in A. T. M. Silva, 'The Role of Rural Organisations in Rural Development in Sri Lanka. Part I. A National Survey of Sri Lanka, 1950-1975', *Research Study Series No.* 19, *Agrarian Research and Training Institute*, Colombo, 1977.

[2] e.g. Rural Development Training and Research Institute, *The Role of Rural Development Societies in Sri Lanka*, Colombo, 1976; and C. Narayanasamy *et al.*, 'The Role of Rural Organisations in Rural Development in Sri Lanka. Part II. In-Depth Study', *Research Study Series No.* 19, *Agrarian Research and Training Institute*, Colombo, 1977.

demonstrate that the use of the 'scientific' method of consistent comparison can considerably advance understanding of the problem. The method is applied only to Cultivation Committees because the necessary data are not available for other institutions. For reasons explained below, the conclusions probably have a wider applicability.

Cultivation Committees

Cultivation Committees were established under the Paddy Lands Act of 1958; they existed as the main statutory participatory organisation concerned with agricultural development until 1977, when they were abolished and replaced by locally-recruited government officers – Cultivation Officers. The circumstances of the origin of Cultivation Committees are only peripherally relevant to this paper and need be mentioned only briefly.[1] They were the brainchild of Phillip Gunawardena, often known as the 'father of Marxism' in Sri Lanka. Gunawardena was Minister of Agriculture in the disparate governmental coalition, including strong elements of Sinhalese chauvinism and radicalism, which won the 1956 elections. Gunawardena conceived of Cultivation Committees as part of a drastic transformation of rural socio-economic structure to be triggered off by his Paddy Lands Bill. Major elements in this transformation would be popular peasant organisation against local property owners and radical land reform. Whether or not this programme was in any degree realistic is another matter. The outcome was certainly very different from the original intention. The Bill was emasculated by opposition from within the governing coalition, and Gunawardena and his close associates eventually forced out of office. The Paddy Lands Act which was passed incorporated two major sets of policy measures: rent regulation and security of tenure for most sharecropping tenants on paddy land, and the establishment of elected Cultivation Committees to help police the tenure legislation and assist in agricultural development in a variety of ways. Both policies have been relatively ineffective, and such success as they have had is in large part due to the institutional arrangements made to promote them. A separate Department of Agrarian Services[2] was created for this purpose. Staffed at senior levels by persons hand-picked by Gunawardena, it developed a sense of commitment to the interests of the tenant and the small farmer which continues to this day.[3]

Thus one set of influences moulding Cultivation Committees has been their origin in a stream of radical and populist rhetoric. Evaluations adopting this viewpoint focus on the near-failure of tenancy regulation and the associated domination of the Cultivation Committees by the propertied.[4] The other set of influences have

[1]More information on this can be found in J. Jupp, *Sri Lanka: Third World Democracy*, Cass, London, 1978, pp 72-80 and 172-173.

[2]Temporarily known as the Department of Rural Institutions and Productivity Laws between 1973 and 1977.

[3]See I. K. Weerawardena, 'Lessons of an Experiment: The Paddy Lands Act of 1958', *Evaluation Studies No.* 3, *Division of Rural Institutions and Productivity Laws*, Colombo, 1975, p 10. The very fact that this document exists reflects the continuation of a tradition of detailed study of rural issues established by Gunawardena and his close associates.

[4]e.g. Weerawardena, 1975, *passim*.

been more mundane and probably more powerful: the attempt to assign more and more functions to the Cultivation Committees and thus incorporate them fully into the administrative machinery. Among the duties assigned have been: adjudication of tenure cases and other agricultural disputes; construction and management of local irrigation and drainage structures; collection of acreage levies and crop insurance premia; issue of identity cards to farmers; issue of seed, fertiliser and agro-chemicals; cooperation in agricultural demonstrations and experiments; preparation and up-dating of land ownership and cultivation records; hiring out of sprayers, tractors and other items of agricultural equipment; organisation of voluntary labour campaigns; and preparation of annual plans for paddy production covering cultivation techniques, crop varieties, and use of fertilisers and other inputs.

The evaluation of Cultivation Committees in performing this list of functions both starts from and ends in very different places than the radical critique. The administrator's judgement is very much like that of the farmer, who, when asked about his local Cultivation Committee, is quite likely to use the term 'useless' or something similar. The farmer's judgement is a little harsh, for Cultivation Committees have had some successes, and there are, as we shall see below, marked areal variations in performance. The dominant theme is however ineffectiveness, and it is on this that we focus below.

Evaluation: Criteria and Data

The analysis below of the performance of Cultivation Committees is shaped largely by the scarcity of data available to the author. Only two other quantitative exercises appear to have been conducted. One involved the collection of statistics on the performance of a sample of Committees (and higher-level Agricultural Productivity Committees) without any attempt to compare the individual units in the analysis.[1] The result is to put some statistical gloss on the widespread impressionistic evaluations; one does not learn whether one type of Committee, defined by region, composition, or some other variable, performs better than another. This helps highlight the problem, but does little to indicate the causes and thus possible solutions. The other study involved a comparison of only two Committees.[2] The results are interesting, and accord with our findings (see below), but have little value alone.

Apart from the two studies mentioned above, the only sources of information are official reports, principally the annual Administration Reports of the Commissioner of Agrarian Services. These are much in arrears, the latest available relating to the year 1969-70. They provide, on a somewhat patchy basis, information on the

[1] S. Asmar and R. V. Kumarakulatungam, 'A Study of Seven Selected Agricultural Productivity Committees and Cultivation Committees', *Occasional Publication Series No.* 9, *Agrarian Research and Training Institute*, Colombo, 1975.

[2] W. Gooneratne *et al.*, 'The Role of Cultivation Committees in Agricultural Planning at Village Level', *Occasional Publication Series No.* 3, *Agrarian Research and Training Institute*, Colombo, 1974.

performance of Cultivation Committees in several respects: holding of statutory triennial elections; issue of identity cards to farmers; expenditure on minor irrigation, purchase of agricultural equipment; and collection of the acreage levy on paddy lands from farmers. This last variable, the collection of the acreage levy, is the one taken by the present author as the indicator of institutional effectiveness. Recorded performance in the other spheres mentioned is difficult to interpret precisely. For example, the holding of elections may be a purely nominal exercise; the issue of identity cards may reflect mainly the level of farmer demand for such cards in order to gain access to credit; and expenditure on minor irrigation or agricultural equipment may reflect the outcome of the party political process in steering resources to particular localities or individuals. Success in getting farmers to pay the acreage levy is unambiguous, to a large extent reflects the actual authority of the Committee in its locality, and is probably a good indicator of ability to perform other functions, partly because a proportion of the levy accrues to the Committee collecting it for its own expenses.

The acreage tax is levied at a very low rate. At the current rate of six rupees per acre per year, it is worth much less than one per cent of the value of final output in even the areas of the lowest rice yields. Typically however most farmers do not pay. In the period with which we are concerned, aggregate collections ran to a maximum of a quarter of the amounts due.[1]

Information on collections and dues is disaggregated in the official statistics only down to the level of the district, the main sub-national administrative and political unit. At the time to which our data relate there were twenty-two districts in the Island, each including a population of rather more than half a million persons. The district is a small enough unit to have a large degree of cultural and environmental homogeneity.

The data on collections used below relate to the three years 1967-8, 1968-9, and 1969-70, and are obtained from the respective Administration Reports for those years. These are the latest years for which reports are available. This is in one way a very useful period to take. The election of the United Front government in 1970 led to a period of very active political intervention in local organisations. In the case of Cultivation Committees this culminated in the suspension of the principle of election. According to the provisions of the Agricultural Productivity Law of 1972, Cultivation Committees were composed of persons nominated by the Minister of Agriculture and Land. This meant in practice the nominees of local MPs or political influentials of the ruling coalition parties. This drive towards greater politicisation led to problems of its own. It is convenient to confine our analysis to a period when the political element was not prominent, when the government of the day was very concerned to boost agricultural production in general and paddy production in particular, relying on the Cultivation Committees to an important extent, and when harvests were generally very good and increasing.

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[1]Government of Sri Lanka, *Administration Report of the Commissioner of Agrarian Services for* 1968-9, Government Printer, Colombo, 1971.

Statistical Analysis

A casual examination of the district-wise figures on the level of success in collecting the acreage levy reveals a broad pattern to anyone familiar with rural Sri Lanka. This is that collections (as a percentage of dues) are generally highest in what might be described as the 'agricultural' areas of the country – the Dry and Intermediate Zones. These are areas where high levels of insolation make possible high crop yield, (given adequate water), where population pressure on land is relatively low, and where agriculture is the main economic activity. This is contrasted to the Wet Zone, the region containing the majority of the population, which densely populated, the site of almost all plantation agriculture, and an area of low agricultural potential and a high rate of involvement of the rural population in non-agricultural activities.[1]

It is rice in particular which grows relatively much better in the Dry Zone rather than the Wet Zone. It comprises the main pillar of the Dry Zone economy. The acreage tax, it should be noted, is levied only on rice land. The obvious initial hypothesis to explain the pattern of collection of the acreage tax is that it is in some way related to the importance of rice production: farmers will be more willing to pay the tax if they have a high need of the services of a Cultivation Committee and are thus prepared to support it and/or if they make a good profit from cultivation. This hypothesis was tested in various ways with the data available. The importance of rice farming was not usefully measured by average rice yields alone: these are typically highest not in the Dry Zone but in areas of very intensive cultivation in the very land-scarce parts of the West Zone. The most useful available measure of the importance of rice farming appeared to be the average quantity of rice produced by the average rice farmer in the three reference years (1967-8 to 1969-70)[2] There was indeed an observable relationship between the importance of rice farming, using this measure, and the success in collecting the acreage levy. In regression analysis the result was as follows:

Y (dependent variable) = Percentage of the acreage tax collected in the three-year period 1967-8 to 1969-70.

X (independent variable) = Estimated average number of bushels of rice produced by the average farmer in the same period.

Observations = twenty-one districts. One district, Moneragala, was necessarily excluded from the analysis because of the incompleteness of data on tax collections.

$$Y = 16.604 + 0.051X \qquad R^2 = 0.241 \quad p < 5\% \qquad n = 21$$

[1]More discussion of this basic division between Wet and Dry Zone can be found in many works on Sri Lanka, including B. H. Farmer, *Pioneer Peasant Colonization in Ceylon*, OUP, London, 1957.

[2]Data on acreages and yields were obtained from the Department of Census and Statistics, Colombo. The figures on average size of paddy holding were obtained from the 1962 Census of Agriculture (Department of Census and Statistics, *Census of Agriculture*, 1962, *Volume* 2, Government Press, Colombo, 1966, Table 2). Similar data are available for 1973, but their reliability is very suspect, and there appear to be major inter-district differences in completeness of coverage. The average size of holding will have decreased a little between 1962 and the reference years, but, provided that there have not been drastic inter-district differentials in the rates of decrease, the results will not be significantly affected.

There was a positive association between the importance of rice farming and collection of the tax; 24% of the variance in the latter variable was 'explained' by the former; and such a result could be expected to arise by chance less than one time in twenty.

Although respectable in statistical terms, this result was unsatisfactory as it appeared to leave so much unexplained. Attempts to refine or redefine the measure of the importance of rice cultivation in the district economy did not promise to improve the level of explanation. Detailed examination of the data suggested a rather different hypothesis: that success in collecting the acreage levy was closely related not to the importance of rice cultivation to the individual rice farmer, but to the relative proportions of rice farmers in the population as a whole. The greater the proportion of rice farmers, the higher the percentage of the acreage levy collected.

Y = Percentage of acreage tax collected, 1967-8 to 1969-70.
X = Percentage of the economically active population primarily engaged in own-account rice farming, 1971.[1]
$Y = 14.126 + 0.372X \quad R^2 = 0.372 \quad p < 1\% \quad n = 21$

This hypothesis appeared to explain the pattern of tax collections much better than the previous one. It explains 37% of the variance in tax collections, and could arise by chance less than one in a hundred occasions.

One very clear 'anomaly' in the analysis was that two districts, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, collectively constituting the North Central Province (NCP), stood out clearly from the others. Although collectively constituting most of the 'rice-bowl' of Sri Lanka, and having a much higher percentage of their working population engaged in rice farming than any other district (67% and 65% respectively), their performance in respect of tax collections was much lower than predicted. This would surprise few agricultural officers in Sri Lanka. These districts have been the focus of a very large proportion of state effort to develop agriculture in recent decades, and it is part of the folklore of the Department of Agriculture that 'NCP farmers are spoiled. They can never get enough from the government, and expect to give nothing in return'. If these two districts are excluded from the regression equation above, the following result is obtained:

$$Y = 9.642 + 0.595X \quad R^2 = 0.470 \quad p < 1\% \quad n = 19$$

In other words, 47% of inter-district variations in tax collections is now 'explained' by variations in the percentage of the workforce who are rice farmers.

The Social Basis of Institutional Performance

Taken alone the statistical results reported above suggest some tantalizing possibilities but do not appear to lead to firm conclusions. It is only when combined with other research results that the full significance becomes apparent.

[1]Data kindly supplied by the Department of Census and Statistics, Colombo.

Let us first take the results as they stand. What do they suggest? In the first place they suggest that the success of Cultivation Committees in levying taxes on farmers is related less to the potential level of farmer demand for reciprocal services (or ability to pay – but taxes are anyway for derisory amounts) than to the numerical importance of farmers compared to other elements in the rural population. This suggests that it is something to do with the pattern of local social organisation. Two other research findings are especially significant in this context. One is the discovery, on the basis of a comparison of six villages, that the level of social interaction within each locality was related to the proportion of households cultivating land. Let us quote:

'The reasons for this connection between the prevalence of cultivation as the main source of income and the degree of involvement in village affairs are not hard to fathom. In the first place, cultivators have a common interest in the management of village land and such issues as the siting of irrigation anicuts or new roads. In the second place, cultivators work within their home village and thus interact with one another a great deal. In the third place, sharing a common village environment and a common occupation, they tend to share a common culture.'[1]

Membership of Cultivation Committees is unpaid, and the majority have been unable to afford the services, full or part-time, of a paid assistant.[2] Under such circumstances the collection of the acreage tax depends on such factors as: the extent to which Committee members encounter other farmers in the course of daily activities and can thus encourage or collect payments without making special efforts; the extent to which the existence of non-agricultural sources of income divert the energies of potential Committee members; and the existence of a community ethos based on a distinct pattern of life. These kinds of factors appear to explain why success in collecting the acreage levy should be associated with the extent to which the local population is involved in own-account farming.

More light is thrown on the casual relationships at work by a study of two Cultivation Committees, one active and relatively successful, the other almost moribund.[3] In neither case was there a marked shortage of candidates for Committee membership or leadership. Such positions, especially posts as Chairman and Secretaries, are valued because of the personal benefits which can be obtained – status, power in such matters as adjudication of land disputes, privileged access to equipment or subsidised fertilisers or seed, opportunities for corrupt use of public funds, etc. Committees do not fall moribund for lack of persons to exploit such opportunities; the problem is that the other functions of the Committee, involving more effort and less personal reward, are neglected. Gooneratne *et al.* found that the successful Committee had a leadership involved in cultivation, and thus concerned to promote agriculture in their own self-interest, and especially subject to the moral pressure

[1]M. P. Moore *et al.*, 'Introduction' in M. P. Moore *et al.* (eds), *The Disintegrating Village? Social Change in Rural Sri Lanka*, Lake House Investments, Colombo, in press.
[2]Government of Sri Lanka *op. cit.* p 32.
[3]W. Gooneratne *et al.*, *op. cit.*

of fellow cultivators whom they were supposed to serve. By contrast, the leadership of the unsuccessful Committee had their economic roots in trading, landlordship and in the exploitation for political purposes of an 'aristocratic' social position. At one level this appears as a difference in leadership. At the inter-district level it appears as an expression of differences in the economic base. As the present author's own field experience confirms, the leadership of Wet Zone Cultivation Committees was heavily weighted by persons with relatively little or even no economic interest in rice cultivation – traders, contractors, teachers, commission agents, shopkeepers, etc. Not only is the progress of paddy cultivating of little direct benefit to them, but they are partly at least outside the moral community of the rice-farming sector of society. They are influential people, with capital resources and contacts with politicians and public officials. But their futures are little related to the yield of the rice plant. By contrast, in the paddy growing areas there are fewer non-agricultural activities. Those elected to Cultivation Committees are far more likely to have an economic stake in rice and a moral position to uphold among the farming community.

The implication of this analysis is that the kind of leadership which is rooted both economically and socially in rice cultivation is more likely to be able to exercise authority over cultivation. It does not follow that such leadership is necessarily the most effective in the performance of other functions. For example, success in obtaining grants and subsidies for minor irrigation may depend more on contacts outside the farming community. There was certainly no similarity, at the district level, between the success of Cultivation Committees in collecting the acreage tax and performance in holding elections, purchasing agricultural equipment, spending funds on minor irrigation or issuing identity cards to farmers. It is however not possible to say how far this reflects the different kinds of leadership required and how far it reflects a range of other factors listed previously.

Policy Implications

There are undoubtedly many factors other than those mentioned above explaining variations in the performance of Cultivation Committees. The fact that the proportionate incidence of paddy farmers in the population should have emerged as a major explanatory variable reflects the peculiar character in rural Sri Lanka. Compared to most of rural Asia, it is marked by a high incidence of non-agricultural occupations and of part-time involvement in cultivation. The reason for this lies in the predominant economic role of the plantation sector in the last century, the development of a large urban and service sector, the provision of a good communications and transport network in the rural Wet Zone, and the widespread diffusion of education and other publicly-provided services, along with the associated public-sector job, to the rural areas. As early as 1901 only 38% of the workforce was engaged in non-estate agriculture.[1] At the 1971 Population Census, 78% of the population remained rural.[2] According to the 1962 Census of Agriculture, fully

[1]D. R. Snodgrass, *Ceylon: An Export Economy in Transition*, Richard D. Irwin Inc., Homewood, Illinois, 1966, p 58.

[2]Department of Census and Statistics, *Census of Population*, 1971, *Volume* 2, *Part* 1, Government Printer, Colombo, 1975, Table 4.

46% of all cultivators operating less than fifty acres of land had additional non-agricultural sources of income.[1] The elision of the concepts of agricultural and rural, so easy to make for much of Asia, is especially misleading in the Sri Lanka case.

This finding that 'agriculturalness' is an important factor in the ability of Cultivation Committees to exercise authority has important, if not very palatable, policy implications. If a common economic interest and associated culture and pattern of social interaction is an essential basis for authoritative local voluntary association, then it follows that the future does not hold much promise of the flowering of such activity in the agricultural sphere at least, and possibly in other spheres. The growth of landlessness and the decrease in the relative size of the agricultural sector, without any significant flight of non-cultivators to the urban areas, which is the pattern of the recent past and probably the future in rural Sri Lanka, promises the continual erosion of the social basis of authoritative local organisation. The general implication seems clear: despite all the ideological value attached to the concepts of democracy and community, local organisation will increasingly require the intervention of agents of the state. And that indeed, with the recent replacement of Cultivation Committees by appointed and salaried Cultivation Officers, is what has happened in this one sphere.

Conclusion

In India local institutions, especially elected *Panchayati Raj* institutions, can be judged a relative success as channels for the expansion and consolidation of a democratic policy. Sri Lanka, with its much earlier and more deeply rooted experience of popular politicization and penetration to local levels of organised political parties, has not needed local institutions to serve a political function to anything like the same degree. In Sri Lanka local institutions are more urgently required to fulfil economic functions, especially the mobilisation of resources from the rural population and the organisation of the more effective exploitation of the local land base.[2] Their performance in this respect has been poor. An analysis of the experience of Cultivation Committees in collecting paddy land taxes suggests a major reason. Local community organisation is in large part a function of the degree of the homogeneity of the population in economic activities and the degree of social interaction. Communities of small farmers provide a relatively good base for effective local organisation. The pattern of economic change is however eroding this base.

[1] Department of Census and Statistics, *Census of Agriculture*, 1962, *Volume* 1, Government Printer, Colombo, 1965, Table 1a.

[2] See especially M. P. Moore and G. Wickremesinghe, 'Managing the Village Environment', *Occasional Publication Series, Agrarian Research and Training Institute*, Colombo, 1979.

Small Farmers and the Extension Service in South Eastern Nigeria

FRANCIS C. OKAFOR*

Introduction

The multiple problems of agricultural transformation facing small-holders in most developing countries remain to be solved. Yet the small-holder or the small farmer forms the cornerstone of agricultural production in these countries. The failure of big state farms and government-sponsored farm settlements to meet the food and export needs of most developing countries has underscored the need to focus attention on the role of the small farmer. There is a growing acceptance of the view among agricultural planners, political leaders and government officials that the small farmer has been neglected and that the physical, cultural, policy and institutional environments from which he operates have not received adequate attention.[1] For instance, the benefits of the Green Revolution have thus far accrued mainly to the large and well-to-do farmers. Despite the importance of smallholder farming, it receives only a very small proportion of available development resources.[2] Technological change, most probably, must bear in the future more than in the past the burden of increasing agricultural productivity in developing countries. Therefore, greater efforts should be made to understand the small farmer's varying ecological and institutional miliues which hold the key to successful diffusion of technology.

Nigeria is a country of small farmers and widescale agricultural mechanization is practically impossible.[3] Given the low level of technology and the lack of scientific information possessed by small farmers, the problem of successfully introducing modern methods of agricultural production has been one of the most intractable difficulties faced by agricultural planners. Programmes aimed at transforming the traditional agricultural systems or injecting modern methods of farming into the traditional ones have sometimes resulted in total failure. The record of achievement

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[1]See for example V. C. Uchendu, 'Africa's Small Farms: Parameters for Policy Formulation', in R. E. Dumett & L. J. Brainard (eds), *Problems of Rural Development*, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1975, pp 28-46; and D. Olatunbosun, *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1975.

[2]K. G. V. Krishna, 'Smallholder agriculture in Africa-constraints and potential', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol 18, No 1, 1977, pp 12-25.

[3]G. K. Helleiner, *Peasant Agricultural, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria*, Homewood, Illinois: Richard Irvin, 1966.

has on the whole been discouraging. A lack of in-depth knowledge of the reasons behind the failure of some local farmers to respond positively to agricultural innovations has led repeatedly to expensive mistakes of agricultural transforming programmes. Most importantly, to maintain sustained increases in agricultural productivity, the small farmer has to be studied and his problems tackled.

This paper focuses on one segment of the institutional environment of small farmers in south-eastern Nigeria. Specifically, the discussion will deal with the extension services out of other issues such as land tenure, cooperatives, marketing boards, and methods of farm management which fall under the institutional matrix of agriculture. The sample survey on which this paper is based was carried out in 1976/77, and involved 36 villages in seven administrative divisions of Anambra State of Nigeria.[1] Analysis on a national level is considered of little value in this study because local factors are very important in the interaction between economic and political influences on agricultural decisions. The case study provides an insight into the nature of problems small farm-families face in south-eastern Nigeria where, in addition, high population pressure and poor soil conditions impose insuperable barriers to meeting the local food needs.[2]

The remainder of this paper summarizes the general pattern of the extension programme in the study region and how it is a limiting factor to maximizing the efficiency of the small farmer. In conclusion, it will be argued that small farmers could make an effective contribution towards agricultural development if there are the right incentives through providing a conducive institutional environment.

Extension Functions and Gaps

The agricultural extension service is one of the important institutional links between the village farmer and the state or divisional administration. The agricultural extension service in Anambra state falls within the Agricultural Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources. The extension service is further decentralized on a divisional basis where the extension workers are assigned to towns and villages. The extension workers constitute the contact point between the agricultural extension service and the farm population, and they are supposed to guide the farmers from awareness to sustained adoption of new farm practices. In addition to supply and service functions, the extension service is responsible for a number of other activities including the oil palm rehabilitation scheme, the plant protection programme, fertilizer demonstration, collection of statistics on crops, assembling of meteorological data, as well as certain regulatory functions such as produce inspection.

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[1]Details of the survey appear in F. C. Okafor, 'Adjustments of Rural Population of Diminishing Land Resources: A Case Study of the Dynamics of Rural Change in Southeastern Nigeria', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada, 1978.

[2]R. K. Udo, 'Food-Deficit areas of Nigeria', *Geographical Review*, Vol 61, No 3, 1971, pp 853-864; F. C. Okafor, 'The Changing Pattern of Rural Settlement in the Densely-Settled Region of Igboland, Nigeria', *Geographical Review of India*, Vol 39, No 2, 1977, pp 97-106.

Incentives for change in the local agricultural system exist principally as a result of awareness brought through information spread by the press, radio, television and public enlightenment programmes. The most important of these programmes operated in Anambra state and in the divisions sampled for this study are discussed here. The Radio Farmer, an agricultural information broadcast organized by the agricultural information section of the Ministry of Agriculture, is the most common agricultural information programme. It is a weekly bulletin of farm news designed to acquaint farmers with new crop breeds, farming techniques and fertilizer use. The broadcast is carried in English, the official language of Nigeria, and in Igbo, the local language. It is assumed that the broadcast will reach many farmers because of the ubiquitousness of low-priced transistor radios. Fifty-two per cent of the farmers interviewed indicated awareness of this radio programme but had various reasons for not listening to it. The most common complaint was that the broadcasts are usually made in the morning hours when the farmers are out on their land. Another common excuse was that they do not understand most of the technical terms used in the English broadcast. Even among the farmers who own radio sets, only 30 per cent said that they had interest in the Radio Farmer programme, and less than 5 per cent indicated they have modified some of their farming techniques through the information obtained from the Radio Farmer broadcasts.

Television programmes further aimed at spreading agricultural information have also been introduced in various parts of Nigeria. However, the number of television sets in rural areas is so small that the impact is not felt because of the small audience. None of the farmers interviewed in this study indicated that he/she had gained farm information from television programmes. There are no rural television viewing centres in Anambra state, an innovation which the neighbouring Bendel state government has worked out in its area of jurisdiction.

Much greater effort at dissemination of farming knowledge and new ideas in agriculture is made by the divisional extension staff. The extension workers are charged with the duty of educating and mobilizing the farmers. Some useful measures of the adequacy of the service offered by these extension workers are their numbers in comparison with the farm population, and the frequency and effectiveness of the contact they have with the farmers. While it is difficult to quantify the effectiveness of the extension worker/farmer contact, a surrogate measure is possible. The small number of extension workers in comparison with the number of farmers whom they are supposed to serve shows that in the divisions sampled for this study there is dearth of extension staff. As Table 1 indicates, extension workers were only able to reach between two and six per cent of the farmers. Besides, it is generally the farmers with larger, and economically more important holdings who receive more regular assistance and guidance from the extension service. In effect, the bulk of the small farmers is not influenced by the activities of the extension staff. Considering the average ratio of one extension worker to about 8500 farm households, or one for every 90 square kilometres, experts are in agreement that this ratio is out of tune with meaningful extension work. The Food and Agricultural Organization has recommended for Nigeria

1000 farm families to one extension worker,[1] but even this ratio is considered too high if extension work of an intensive nature is to be be put into practice.

TABLE 1 *Number of Extension Staff in Comparison with the Farming Population Being Served in Seven Divisions of South-eastern Nigeria*, 1976

Division	No. of Extension Workers	No. of Farm Households Per Extension Worker	% of Households Reached by Extension Workers
Aguata	11	7500	3.1
Anambra	5	5000	5.6
Idemili	8	6500	3.0
Ihiala	10	8000	2.1
Njikoka	16	11000	2.0
Nnewi	14	17000	2.6
Ogbaru	4	4500	6.3
Study Region	68	8500	3.5

Source: Compiled by the author from the working files of the Agricultural Extension Division of Divisional Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

In realization of the paucity of extension staff, it has been recommended that more effective results could be achieved if an extension effort is concentrated on small groups of responsive farmers in the hope that they can serve as demonstrators for others.[2] While farms are homogenous by geographical areas and problems are the same for a large number of farmers, experience has not borne out the workability of this recommended group service method. In one of the study villages where the recommendation was tried, the group service method was stillborn because of the initial problem of selecting pioneer trainee farmers.

On the whole, the need for substantially increasing the number of extension staff is incontrovertible. The necessity for recruiting better trained and motivated staff into the service cannot equally be overstressed.[3] Out of 68 extension workers serving in the seven divisions included in this study, only two who serve as Field Overseers have a diploma granted by an Agricultural College. When it is realized that the extension worker is not concerned with the farmer alone but with the

[1]Food and Agricultural Organization, *Agricultural Development in Nigeria*, 1965-1980, Rome, 1966.

[2]G. Johnson *et al. Strategies and Recommendations for Nigerian Rural Development*, Report No. 33, Consortium for the Study of Nigerian Rural Development, 1969.

[3]L. O. Obibuaku, 'Education and Training in the Nigerian Agricultural Extension Service, *Journal of Administration Overseas*, Vol 14, No 2, 1975, pp 113-119; and J. DeVires, 'Agricultural Extension and Development – Ujamaa Villages and the Problems of Institutional Change', *Community Development Journal*, Vol 13, No 1, 1978, pp 11-19.

totality of his rural environment the need for a well-trained extension staff is clear.

The Effects of Extension Gaps

Where the extension efforts have proved to be highly inefficient, traditional agricultural systems could be thought to be inert, responding only sluggishly to the opportunities for change. Under such circumstances, the traditional institutional matrix in which small farm agriculture is embedded is hardly penetrated by extension efforts. In this study, the farm households were asked to indicate which modes of information or contact they have been exposed to and their usual source of advice concerning their agricultural problems. From the results tabulated in Table 2, it is apparent that the acquisition level of modern agricultural information is still very low and informal. Farmers would prefer to seek advice from friends and

TABLE 2 *Acquisition of Farming Knowledge and Information By Sampled Farmers in Seven Divisions of South-eastern Nigeria*, 1976/77

	Types of Methods and Contacts	% of Farmers	
		Yes	No
1	Consulted friends and neighbours	63.0	37.0
2	Listened to radio farmer programmes	9.5	90.5
3	Consulted with extension worker	4.0	96.0
4	Attended agricultural talks	0.0	100.0
5	Saw agricultural films	0.0	100.0
6	Read agricultural newsletters	1.5	98.5
7	Watched television programmes	0.0	100.0

Source: Culled from the author's farm household survey.

neighbours to obtaining such advice from a demonstration station or an extension officer. Therefore, traditional farming knowledge learnt from parents and guardians and passed through succeeding generations, is still the most influential source of farming knowledge. Consequently, a deeply ingrained attitude of conservatism could be said to be existing among the farmers; all change is viewed with scepticism and caution. For example, the farmers have demonstrated violently against what they termed, "killer chemical'. The demonstration was sparked off by the farmers' misuse of fertilizer. Had they been taught the correct application of fertilizer such an incident could have been averted. Also, considering the low level of literacy, agricultural newsletters very often posted in market squares have played an insignificant role in the dissemination of agricultural information. In general, age differences were reflected in the proportion of farmers receiving information from different sources. As expected, older farmers were much less inclined to seek any advice. In view of the fact that this group often makes up to half of the farmers in many parts of rural Nigeria, and indeed controls disproportionate amounts of land, this is a crucial point, and a significant area for agricultural planners to attack.

Conclusion

This case study demonstrates that the extension service has been of marginal profitability to small farmers in Nigeria. Extension efforts are poor in quality and minimal effectiveness as a result of the state of stagnation in which the service finds itself. There exist many agricultural education programmes that have failed to penetrate the mass of poorer farmers and the bulk of the agricultural sector in Nigeria still remains scarcely affected by non-traditional techniques and innovations. To elicit a positive response from the small farmers, the extension programme has to convince the farmer that the new is more profitable than the old. It has been common to concentrate extension resources on export crops and/or big farmers, and to dismiss small-scale producers as non-viable and uneconomic. Similarly, insufficient attention is being paid to traditional agricultural sectors and their potential contribution to the country's food supplies. Agricultural planners should articulate more carefully the needs of small farmers than they have done, since small farmers are steadily proving that their productivity can increase, given conducive ecological and socio-economic conditions. The ability of the small farmer to participate in development depends very much on the access he has to extension service functions and on a general improvement of the institutional environment from which he operates.

Why Not an Inter-Disciplinary Rural Extension Service?

M. KALIM QAMAR*

Introduction

Almost all walks of life have been affected by the process of modernization in the sense that frequent changes have become necessary to keep pace with the times. Such changes are needed for survival. From an organizational point of view, the institutions must do a good job of reviewing their goals, structures, policies, and procedures otherwise they will fall victim to modernization by becoming outdated.

A vast majority of the world population lives in rural areas. National and international development efforts, therefore, have paid special attention to the rural sector. With rapid changes in the non-agricultural sector, especially in industry, rural life has also received its share of the winds of change. In order to cope with the changing times and new demands, rural development policies have also taken new directions. And, quite appropriately, such shifts in policies have necessitated serious reviews of the organizations now serving the rural needs. Rural extension service is an organization which needs thorough review for meeting the challenge of new demands.

This paper takes the position that the structures of rural extension organizations in most developing countries have become outdated and need modifications in their structures and functions. Without such adjustment, rural extension organizations will continue working ineffectively as is the case at present.

Outdated and Isolated Service

Rural extension systems in many less developed countries were formed on the lines of the United States Co-operative Extension Service which emerged out of the Land-Grant College System. One of the basic defects in creating rural extension organizations in developing countries was that very few modifications were made in the United States model to suit the local conditions. It is interesting, however, that the extension service in the United States, since its inception, has changed a lot in its character, approach and magnitude while even after three decades, rural extension systems in most developing countries remain more or less unchanged.[1]

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[1]For a brief description of the conventional model of rural extension service prevalent in most developing countries, see: Philip H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed. *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-formal Education Can Help*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, pp 27-30.

Rural extension services in most less developed countries are infested with a large number of serious problems. Some of these fall in the areas of poor organization, dilution of efforts due to the multipurpose role of extension workers, limited coverage and mobility of extension agents, unsatisfactory training, lack of ties with research, low status of extension personnel, and duplication of services due to piecemeal approach.[1] These general problems do not need much explanation beyond being pointed out since they are so widely known.

There are more serious weaknesses in the extension systems than those mentioned above. These weaknesses have emerged because there have been drastic changes in recent years in almost all aspects of life while extension systems in most developing countries remain conventional. These problems as mentioned below are such that the rural extension services look considerably outdated and isolated.

1 *Very Narrow in Scope*

Most rural extension organizations in developing countries are in fact agricultural extension set-ups and therefore are very narrow and limited in their functions and scope. They concentrate mainly on advising on technical aspects of agriculture such as seed, fertilizer, irrigation, insecticides, pesticides, etc. It is further evident from the fact that most of the extension agents are those who have received pre-service training in technical agriculture.

Present limited functions of extension organizations promote agricultural development rather than rural development, the former putting the main emphasis on technical agriculture while the latter addressing several aspects of rural life including agriculture. The current extension organizations were built with the purpose of serving agriculture. This is clear from the specialized units of agronomy, plant pathology, entomology, soil science, plant breeding, etc. which are essential parts of extension organizations.

Agricultural extension organizations, from their very nature, are usually placed under the department of agriculture, while livestock comes under a separate department of animal husbandry and veterinary services within the same ministry.

During the past decade, efforts of most rural extension organizations were focused on the introduction of higher yielding varieties of wheat, rice, and maize, resulting in the so called Green Revolution. This Revolution showed miracles in terms of high grain production but it was not involved in other aspects of rural life.

Concentrating *only* on agricultural operations and ignoring important sociological, educational, health and other such dimensions of the village life is what makes the present extension organizations outdated. In order to be up-to-date, these organizations will have to be concerned with rural life in a broader spectrum and for doing this, they must modify themselves in expertise and structure.

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[1]Benor, Daniel and Harrison, James Q. *Agricultural Extension: The Training and Visit System.* Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1977, pp 6-9.

2 *Closest to Villagers Yet Insufficient*

Rural extension organizations are in a way closer to the villagers than any other government organization. This closeness is due to the extension agents' visits to villages and farms. Yet a villager can get advice only on agricultural matters since extension agents have been trained solely for this purpose.

A farmer, however, does have a variety of needs beyond agriculture. Obviously, he will prefer to gain advice on his problems without covering long distances on foot, often in foul weather. But it is not possible because, under the present circumstances, different services are scattered over a large area, in different directions.[1]

The question is whether or not an agency like rural extension which is so close to villagers can be made more useful for them in the sense it could advise on non-agricultural issues of rural life also. The answer must be 'yes' but only if present organizational structure of extension is reviewed in light of the increasingly complex and diverse needs of its clientèle. If the current pattern is continued, then extension set-ups will keep serving only specific needs of farmers.

3 *Extension Agents' Difficulties*

Extension agents are so often blamed for poor performance. But few have bothered to link this inefficiency to the defective organizational structure which they inherit on joining the extension service. Rural extension organizations in their present set-ups should have effective co-ordination with at least all those organizations which are primarily concerned with agricultural development. Unfortunately, this is not the case. What can one say of the difficulties faced by the public in contacting these agencies, even the agents themselves have problems in consulting relevant departments.

An agricultural extension service is supposed to be a bridge between agricultural research stations and the farmers. But in reality, there is not much co-ordination between agricultural extension and research. This results in inefficiency in the service and in the formulation of research projects which are not based on the real field needs.[2]

Weak links between extension and relevant agricultural organizations put extension agents in a difficult position. For example, a few years ago, when the higher yielding

[1] For example, a study conducted in four divisions of Nigeria shows that the pattern of health, education, and agricultural services created problems for the clients since they were not only irregular but also spread over several miles distances in different directions. For details see: A. U. Patel, Q. B. O. Anthonio and L. F. Miller, 'Institutional and Administrative Constraints in the Agricultural Development at Village Level in the Western and Kwara States of Nigeria'. Paper presented at the Second International Seminar on Change in Agriculture held at Reading, England; 9-19 September, 1974.

[2] A study conducted by the author shows Pakistan faced with this problem. For details see: Qamar, M. K. 'Necessity for Agricultural Problem-Oriented Research: A Case Study of Pakistan', *Pakistan Social and Economic Review*, Vol XII, No. 2 (Summer 1974), pp 194-199.

rice variety *Taichung Native*-1 was introduced in India, the adverse effects of different seasonal and environmental conditions were not fully explored before the general distribution of the new seed. Unexpected attacks of serious diseases under certain conditions not only caused financial loss to the farmers but also damaged the credibility of extension services.

The extension agents face similar difficulties due to poor co-ordination of their organization with the agencies dealing with agricultural material supports such as seed, fertilizer, farm credit, etc. An FAO study in Paraguay and Ecuador shows that the problems faced by the extension workers due to this particular cause were frequent and serious.[1]

It must be pointed out that the emphasis of the discussion here is on the lack of effective links among different arms within a general rural extension organization. The issue of extension organizations' co-ordination with other disciplines is different and will be discussed in the following section.

4 *Not in Line with New Approaches*

The most recent approach to rural development is the integrated approach and unfortunately conventional extension organizations are not in line with it. Integrated rural development calls for inter-disciplinary and unified efforts by different departments directed towards the rural sector's development. In most developing countries where integrated rural development projects have been launched, the main responsibility of running them has been given to the department of agriculture. The department of agriculture in turn has given the main burden of the task to its extension wing.

Extension wings of most agricultural departments are neither experienced nor trained to meet the new demands of an integrated approach. These new demands include co-ordinating agricultural and non-agricultural departments like health, education, business etc.; establishing village-level institutions for encouraging villagers' participation in projects, preparing unified rural development plans in conjunction with non-agricultural departments and implementing, administering, and evaluating projects. Rural extension officers serving as heads of co-ordination set-ups face evident problems in their new assignment and are rarely accepted by non-agricultural agencies other than, as 'imposed bosses'. A recent evaluation of the integrated rural development project in Pakistan[2] indicates a poor quality of co-ordination machinery headed by agriculture extension officers.

In order to befit the new trends of rural development, nationally and internationally, rural extension organizations need major overhauling. Their structures have to be modified for providing necessary experience, training and expertise to their

[1] F.A.O. *Provisional Perspective Study of Agricultural Development for Latin America*. Rome: F.A.O., 1972.

[2] Qadeer, Mohammed A. *An Evaluation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1977.

employees. Such modifications will be necessary for bringing the existing rural extension organizations in line with fresh approaches to rural development.

The Solution – An Inter-disciplinary Service

The solution to the problem of outdatedness and isolation of rural extension service lies in changing it into an inter-disciplinary set-up. Making rural extension service inter-disciplinary does not only mean establishing a closer relationship and co-ordination between extension and other relevant organizations. It goes further than that and implies more or less a self-sufficient yet inter-disciplinary extension service.

Before the issue of implementing the concept of an inter-disciplinary rural extension service is given further thought, a description of the justification and rationale for the proposition would seem needed. The following factors will be helpful in comprehending why an organization like rural extension should have an inter-disciplinary character.

1 *The Nature of Rural Extension*

The very nature of a rural extension system demands an inter-disciplinary organizational structure. This fact can be appreciated against the pattern of extension operations.

As shown in Figure 1, rural extension works in a cycle involving several agencies or groups. The extension agents obtain useful technical information from the technical subject-matter specialists, convert it into non-technical, usable form and pass it on to the villagers. They also convince and educate the villagers about using and adopting the recommended practices and materials. They contact relevant agencies for providing material inputs.

The extension agents also identify villagers' problems in various areas and try to provide their solution. If provision of the solution is beyond their comprehension then they contact the subject-matter specialists for technical advice. In most cases, they get the advice. But if the answers to their inquiries are still unknown then the subject-matter specialists pass these issues to research stations where research projects are formulated around those issues. Once the answers are obtained, the new information is sent to the subject-matter specialists who then transfer it to the extension agents concerned who, in turn, translate the information into non-technical, usable form to pass on to the villagers. Thus this cycle continues.

As is clear from the operational cycle of rural extension service, extension agents' day to day operations necessitate frequent contacts with four groups (Figure 2). First, the villagers or clientèle; second, subject-matter specialists providing technical advice; third, research stations engaged in finding solutions to newly discovered problems; and fourth, agencies supplying material inputs at village level.

Fig. 1

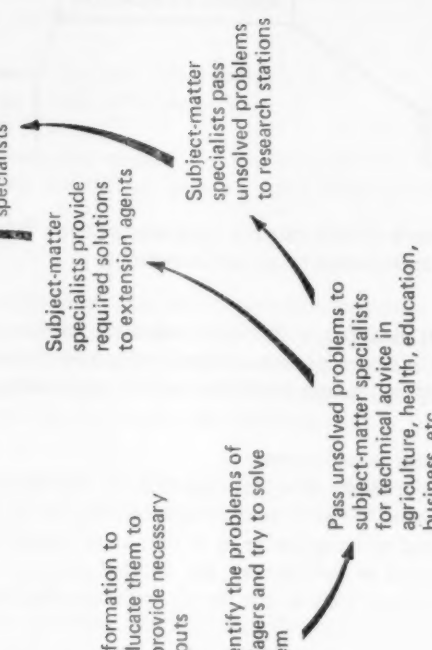
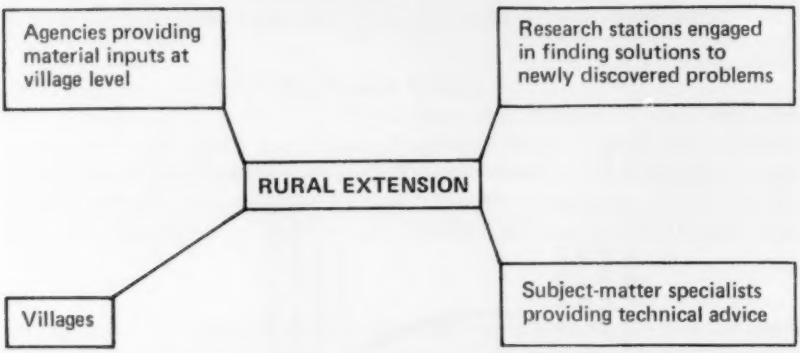

RURAL EXTENSION
Convert information into non-technical terms, useable for villagers
Material inputs coming from relevant agencies
Pass this information to villagers, educate them to use it and provide necessary material inputs
Identify the problems of villagers and try to solve them
Pass unsolved problems to subject-matter specialists for technical advice in agriculture, health, education, business, etc
Subject-matter specialists provide required solutions to extension agents
Subject-matter specialists pass unsolved problems to research stations
On completion of research projects, answers passed on to subject-matter specialists

Fig. 2


Agencies providing material inputs at village level
Research stations engaged in finding solutions to newly discovered problems
RURAL EXTENSION
Villages
Subject-matter specialists providing technical advice

As the pattern of rural extension operations shows, it is virtually impossible for an extension organization to operate in isolation.

The unfortunate fact is that most extension services in developing countries do not follow this essential pattern because of lack of inter-organizational co-ordination and no surprise, remain ineffective in their performance.

2 *Professional Interdepencence*

One of the products of modernization is the increase in the number and kinds of specializations. A large number of organizations may be generalist in their character but still tend to be specialist in at least some specific areas. Such specializations have occurred as mechanisms for meeting specific needs of ever increasingly complex society. This is true for all professions including rural extension.

In view of limited resources, it is not possible for all organizations to become specialist in all aspects of their particular functions. As a solution to this problem, whenever the need for the expertise outside their specific specializations arises, either needy organizations hire short-term consultants or they contact other agencies specialized in the concerned area. This pattern of professional inter-dependence is true for both national and international organizations.

It is not practically possible for rural extension organizations to be self-sufficient in all areas of specialization. The area of rural development has a large number of components. However, in order to do best within constraints, rural extension organizations can have at least a minimum amount of self-sufficiency in the form of its inter-disciplinary structure.

3 *Obstacles due to Scattered Departments*

The way most rural extension services now operate presents many obstacles to the

extension agents in making contacts with relevant departments. The main reason is the scattered pattern of those departments since they are located at considerably long distances from one another. Whenever extension agents are in need of technical advice from subject-matter specialists, they always face problems in getting the information because the specialists are stationed far away.

The present system in which specialized units or rural extension and other relevant departments are not conveniently accessible to one another, can work satisfactorily if the following conditions are met:

a) an open-inter-organizational communication channel;
b) an absence of red-tape in routine office work;
c) good telecommunication facilities;
d) reasonable geographical distances possible to be covered on foot;
e) reasonable roads, channels and airfields in case ground, water, or air transport are available;
f) a suitable mailing system.

As the reality shows, the small towns and rural areas where extension agents are stationed, do not have most of the above listed links for easy access to other departments. There are several cases where extension agents urgently needed technical advice or some material input in order to cope with an emergency but the required advice or material arrived too late after the damage had been done.

An inter-disciplinary organizational structure of rural extension can solve the problem of scattered resources to a great extent. Such a solution will be particularly valuable in dealing with emergencies.

4 *Covering all facets of Rural Life*

The present pattern of rural extension addresses only the agricultural part of the rural economy. It mainly focuses on crops but seriously ignores crop-growers.

An inter-disciplinary pattern of rural extension will be addressed to rural life in a more complete way. It could simultaneously attack a variety of problems in the rural sector. For example, it will not only concentrate on improving agricultural operations and materials but will also take into consideration health practices, educational facilities, business opportunities, recreation means, etc. The target, thus, will be a total improvement of village life and not just improvement of agriculture in a village.

The importance of dealing with the whole rural life is evident from the popularity of an integrated rural development approach. International agencies are encouraging developing countries to develop projects on integrated lines. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the present rural extension systems are not in line with the new ideologies and approaches. In order to fit the latter, they must be modified into inter-disciplinary systems.

5 *Avoiding Danger of Clients' Confusion*

Since there is little co-ordination among the departments involved in the development of the rural sector, they have their own policies on the technical advice content. Having individual policies is not necessarily bad but the provision of contradictory recommendations and advice on the same issue by different agencies is dangerous. Such a practice creates confusion in the minds of clients, results in material and financial losses, and above all, jeopardises the credibility of the government agencies.

An example of such conflicting advice can be cited from Pakistan. Several years ago, when the Maxi-Pak variety of wheat was being introduced among farmers and the whole machinery of the government was operating on the project, several agencies got involved in advising farmers regarding optimum dates for sowing and fertilizer doses for the new variety. Department of Agriculture Extension, Agricultural Research Institutes, Agricultural University and several private agencies, having almost no mutual co-ordination, started advising farmers through personal contacts, pamphlets and radio. The advice differed from agency to agency. This created a lot of confusion among the farmers and as a result of wrong recommendations, several incidents of material loss were reported.

If there is a mechanism available through which consensus on technical recommendations can be obtained then undesirable situations, such as that instanced above, can be avoided. This mechanism can be created through the formation of an inter-disciplinary rural extension service.

Establishing Inter-Disciplinary Rural Extension Services

This section puts forward general suggestions for establishing an inter-disciplinary rural extension service. As such no attempt is made here to recommend a specific and detailed organizational structure, encompassing minor details. The suggestions presented can serve as guidelines and will obviously need appropriate modifications and possibly additional specific considerations to deal with local situational constraints. Roughly, the proposed skeleton structure is shown in Figure 3.

Explanation of Figure 3

There should be a co-ordination body at *national level*. This may be a single ministry of rural development having liaison offices for various departments, agriculture and non-agriculture, concerned with rural development. Persons heading liaison offices should be policy level staff and should have received training besides administrative, in different disciplines in which co-ordination is sought. These officers will be the main link between the ministry of rural development and other ministries.

It is the *provincial level* which is crucial for rural extension work. There should be a group of Technical Advice Co-ordinators at this level. Each co-ordinator will perform two main functions. First, he will function as subject-matter specialist in his specific field and second, he will work as the chief liaison officer responsible for co-ordination with the main governmental department of his field of specialization such as agriculture, health, business, education, etc. These co-ordinators

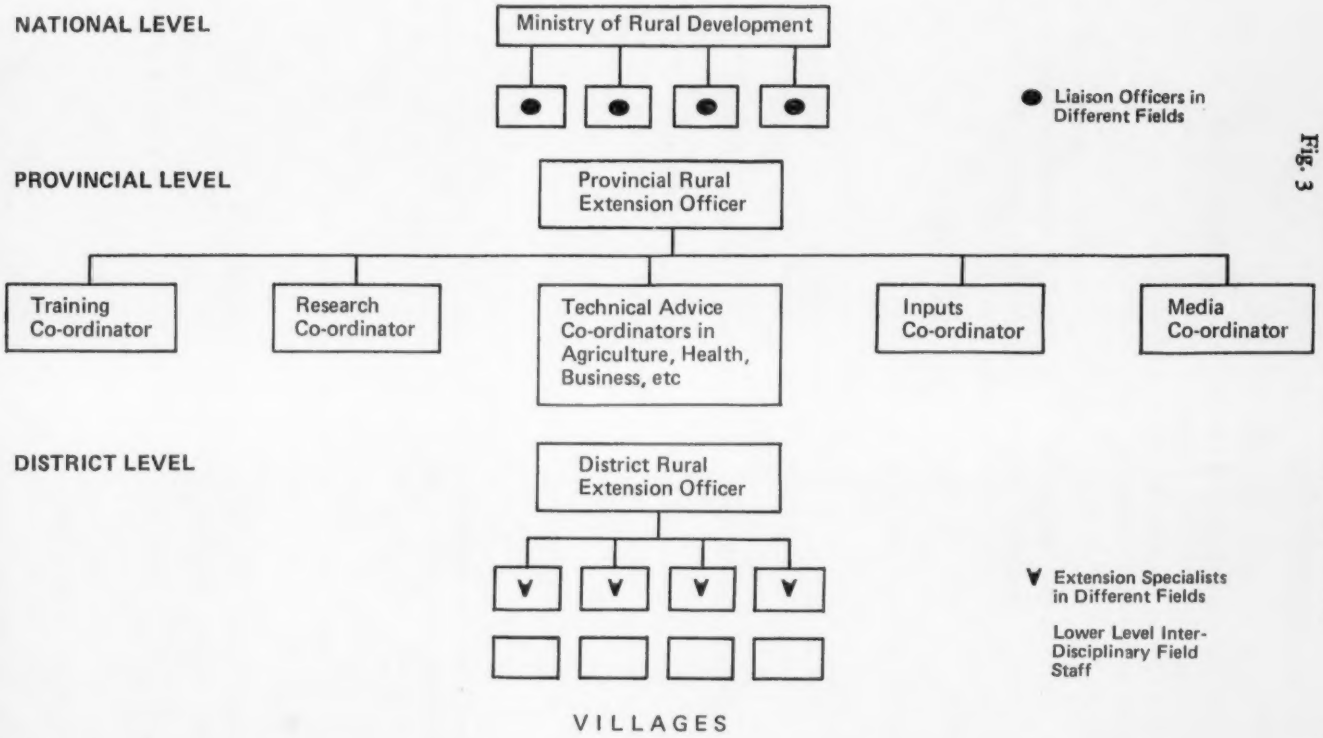

NATIONAL LEVEL
Ministry of Rural Development
Liaison Officers in Different Fields
PROVINCIAL LEVEL
Provincial Rural Extension Officer
Training Co-ordinator
Research Co-ordinator
Technical Advice Co-ordinators in Agriculture, Health, Business, etc
Inputs Co-ordinator
Media Co-ordinator
DISTRICT LEVEL
District Rural Extension Officer
Extension Specialists in Different Fields
Lower Level Inter-Disciplinary Field Staff
VILLAGES

Fig. 3

should have received training in administration, rural extension, and in specific subjects.

In terms of an inter-disciplinary extension service, Technical Advice Co-ordinators alone are not sufficient. There should be positions for four more co-ordinators. First, a Training Co-ordinator who should be a training specialist as well as being himself trained in administration and rural extension. Second, a Research Co-ordinator who should be responsible for transfering newly discovered problems for research to the relevant research agency and also for obtaining research results from agencies to pass on to the extension agents. Third, an Inputs Co-ordinator, whose task will be to co-ordinate the supply and demand of material inputs such as fertilizers, credit, seeds, pesticides, medicines, raw material etc. As such he will be working closely with the agencies concerned with such inputs and the extension agents. Fourth, a Media Co-ordinator whose job will be to co-ordinate the activities related to rural broadcasts, publications, press etc.

All these co-ordinators will be headed by a Provincial Rural Extension Officer. It is understood, of course, that the provincial headquarters will have other routine administrative and technical units such as personnel, transport, finance etc.

In order to operate effectively, the position of Provincial Rural Extension Officer should be occupied by Technical Advice Co-ordinators, one by one, by rotation. This will help in overcoming problems due to 'a monopoly of authority' and will also provide important on-going training. Moreover, Technical Advice Co-ordinators should be obliged to spend a minimum period working in the field with the district and lower level extension workers. Only then, will those co-ordinators be able to perform their functions more realistically.

At district and lower levels, there should be a team of rural extension specialists in various fields. These specialists may be called such as Health Extension Specialist, Agriculture Extension Specialist, Business Extension Specialist etc., all headed by a District Rural Extension Officer. This group will be in direct touch with the villagers and, therefore, should receive special attention in terms of training. Besides being trained in their own respective subject-matter and in rural extension methods, each member should receive training in techniques like grass-roots programme planning and institution building.

It will be ideal if the field level extension specialists team could be located in the same building. Such an arrangement will facilitate not only comprehensive programme planning and implementation for the staff but it will also provide convenience to the clients in terms of access to advisers dealing with a variety of technical problems.

Three Essential Features

An inter-disciplinary rural extension service such as that suggested above should have three essential features. These features have been mentioned implicitly in the

preceding discussion but in view of their importance they are singled out for emphasis:

1 *Location*

Ideally, inter-disciplinary extension team members should be placed in the same building or in buildings close to one another, at all levels. This is particularly important for province, district and lower levels. Such an arrangement will ensure extension agents' access to one another and will therefore promote joint, inter-disciplinary programme planning, implementation, and problem-solving. The clientèle will also feel more comfortable in terms of travel to just one location for advice on their diverse problems.

2 *Rotational Placements*

The head of the province level extension staff should be appointed in rotation from among the technical assistance co-ordinators. The co-ordinators should spend a considerable time working in the field with the district and lower level staff in order to be closely acquainted with the problems of the staff and the villagers.

3 *Training*

Even an excellent organizational structure will remain ineffective unless operated by qualified manpower. In order to develop an inter-disciplinary service, the format of the training should also be inter-disciplinary in nature. The persons responsible for staff development, should develop such training programmes in conjunction with the other relevant organizations. For example, a health extension worker should receive training in health subject-matter from the professionals in the health department while his subject-matter training should be coupled with the training in rural extension, obviously available through another department. The same is true for the training in the areas of administration.

The content of training in all extension areas should be based on the realities in the field. Even well organized training programmes will be ineffective if they ignore the field considerations and emphasize only on theory.[1]

Other considerations related to training concern location and methodology of training. The ideal training location for the field staff will be somewhere in the field because that is the place where the action lies. Methodology of training likewise, should be in line with the nature of the job and the clientèle, extension agents are intended to serve. In all rationality, non-formal approaches to training will be far better than those which are of a formal classroom type.

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[1]A recent example of such a case comes from Papua, New Guinea where an expatriate extension faculty member developed an inter-disciplinary training programme in rural extension. Under this programme, subject-matter specialists from different departments were trained in extension methods. Later during personal discussions with some of the participants, the author noticed grave dissatisfaction with the format and content of the programme. The main complaint was that the programme was almost totally theoretical and did not consider field problems.

Concluding Observations

The scope of this paper is limited in the sense that it has focused mainly on the inter-disciplinary aspects of organizational structure for rural extension organizations. A much more elaborate attempt will be needed to cover all the aspects of organizational system.

An important point to remember is the quality of the manpower responsible for running an organization. Even an excellent organizational structure will be inefficient and ineffective if it falls short of well trained personnel. Reformation of present rural extension systems will be of little value unless coupled with the proper pre-service and in-service training of staff.

All organizations, in order to survive with dignity and usefulness have regularly to review their goals, policies, and procedures in the light of the trends and needs of society. Without such exercise, they will get out-dated, inefficient and will ultimately collapse. This phenomenon applies more to private than public organizations since government organizations keep being financed even if their performance is not satisfactory. But such a survival is at the cost of their credibility. This is particularly true for rural extension organizations in most developing countries which keep functioning in the same traditional manner in spite of the constant criticism by the client groups, as well as realization of their deficiencies by their governments. These extension organizations cannot be overhauled overnight but changes in important aspects such as suggested in this paper can make them more effective and useful to the rural communities.

The 'Comilla Model' and Rural Development in Bangladesh

PARIS ANDREOU* and AHMED GHAUI*

Introduction

Bangladesh is a small country with an area of approximately 55,000 square miles, a huge and fast growing population estimated at 80 million and with a density of over 1,350 per square mile. The vast majority of its people live in rural areas. Agriculture is their main occupation. Their land resources are extremely meagre. The average size of a holding is less than 2.5 acres (1 acre – 0.4 hectares). The small farms are frequently subdivided into tiny plots. Low agricultural productivity, low income, poor savings, low investment, illiteracy, over-population, poor sanitary, health and housing conditions, lack of transport, storage and marketing facilities, vagaries and ravages of nature, inadequate institutions and facilities to promote progress characterise life of rural Bangladesh. The *per capita* income in Bangladesh is about $100 per annum. The predominantly rural character of Bangladesh is evident from the fact that, of the 80 million population, over 94 per cent[1] live in rural areas. And therefore, economic development in Bangladesh is largely dependent on development of its rural sector.

Past Efforts for Rural Development

Rural development both in theory and application is not new in the region now called Bangladesh. From the thirties, various sporadic efforts were made unsuccessfully to improve the lot of the broad masses of the people. If these efforts were to be put to a close scrutiny it would appear that the reasons for their failure were many, but the absence of viable institutional infrastructure and the general apathy of foreign rulers were the main ones. After independence from the British, the first major efforts under the auspices of the state machinery was the launcing of the Village Agricultural Industrial Development Programme (V-AID) in 1953. As the very name indicates, it was a multi-sectoral approach to deal with the problems of rural poverty. The Programme was, no doubt, a very laudable effort in the right direction, but it failed to enlist the desired level of people's participation in the absence of appropriate institutional frame-work and a lack of cohesion with local

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[1]Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh: Rural Development and Co-operative Division, Ministry of Local Government and Co-operatives: A general Plan for the Rural Development & Co-operatives Division (February, 1972), p 3.

bodies. The Programme was disbanded in 1961 both for political reasons as well as its failure to deliver the goods.

The Comilla Model

In view of the urgent need for solving rural problems and in the light of past rural development efforts, the then Pakistan (now Bangladesh) Academy for Rural Development in Comilla under the able and dynamic leadership of a great visionary, Dr Akhter Hameed Khan, carried out an experiment to evolve a model for rural development which would be suitable to the socio-economic conditions of the Country. It was identified that in dealing with the problems of rural backwardness, a multi-sectoral approach was called for rather than isolated efforts. The rural society has to be viewed in its totality, the various rural sectors have to be considered as organically inter-related and a plan for rural development should be cognizant of this cohesiveness. In fact the strategy evolved was a pragmatic participatory process between the rural people through their own organisations in the form of local government institutions and co-operatives and the government agencies through the provision of training, extension and input supplies.[1] Thus the rural development model – popularly known as the 'Comilla Model' – was designed to fulfil the following basic objectives:

(1) increasing production in the agricultural sector at an accelerated rate;
(2) creation of employment opportunities for rural un-employed;
(3) increasing *per capita* income and thereby improving the standard and quality of life of the rural people;
(4) establishment of a process for ensuring a more equitable distribution of the incremental benefits.

From Comilla Model to Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

The Comilla Model was initially tested in the Kotwali thana[1] of Comilla district and then 3 more thanas under different districts in 1963; subsequently expanded to 7 thanas of Comilla in 1965, and finally to the remaining 13 thanas of the same district in 1968.

The replication of the 'Comilla Model' throughout the country under the newly created Integrated Rural Development Programme was initiated in 1970, but due to the prevailing adverse political situation, the Programme could not be expanded further. It is only since the creation of Bangladesh that the Programme got momentum and by 1977-78, a total of 250 thanas out of 434 thanas were adopted under IRDP.

[1]M. Mokammel Haque, Director General, IRDP: Comilla Co-operatives and Its Replication in Bangladesh. Paper presented at the Spring Review of Small Farmers' Credit, Washington, July, 12-13, 1973, p 4.

[2]Thana is an administrative division within a district (Ed).

The year-wise break-up is as follows:

Year	*Thana Adopted*	*Cumulative*
1971-72	33	33
1972-73	53	86
1973-74	65	151
1974-75	10	161
1975-76	1	162
1976-77	38	200
1977-78	50	250

During the current Two Year Plan period (1978-81),[1] another 50 thanas are planned to be covered by IRDP[2]. The rest of the thanas of the country are expected to be adopted during the Second Five Year Plan period (1980-85).

Working Procedure of IRDP

a *Institutional Infrastructure (TCCA-KSS):*

i KSS: Following the 'Comilla Model', an IRDP farmers' co-operative (KSS) is set up in each village of an IRDP thana. This co-operative is managed by an elected Managing Committee assisted by Inspectors and Village Accountants of the TCCA. The Members of the village co-operative prepare their own 'production plan' indicating the credit and input requirements of the KSS members. Each KSS elects one Manager and a 'model' farmer. The Manager contacts the TCCA management for procurement of inputs and credit and banking.

ii TCCA: All the KSSs of a thana are federated into a TCCA. The TCCA is managed by an elected Managing Committee consisting of twelve Directors, a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman. To help the Managing Committee in routine activities, IRDP deputes three key personnel, viz., one Thana Project Officer, one Dy. Project Officer and an Accountant. Broad policies are formulated by the Managing Committee and these are implemented by the key personnel and the Inspectors appointed by TCCA through the KSSs. The TCCA arranges credit and inputs for KSSs, provides them with banking services and training, and co-ordinates its activities with various nation building departments.

b *Supervised Credit System*

A significent feature of IRDP is the supervised credit system linked up with input supply, training and marketing. The credit requirement of the members is assessed on basis of a 'production plan'. The credit is procured by TCCA from nationalised commercial banks and production inputs from concerned nation-building agencies. One component of the credit is disbursed in cash and the remaining portion in kind. This is done to ensure that the credit is used only for production purpose and is not frittered away.

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[1]1978-81 covers of course 3 calendar years (Ed).

[2]Two Year Plan (1978-81), Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, 9 June, 1978, p 37.

c *Training and Extension*

To ensure that the credit is utilised for productive purposes, it is not only necessary to link up the credit supply with availability of inputs, but also to acquaint the farmers with the modern and improved technology. IRDP therefore organises regular training programmes at the Thana Training and Development Centre, where weekly training classes are held for the managers and model farmers of the KSS. Officers of various nation-building departments who are knowledgeable in their respective fields act as trainers in these classes. The managers and model farmers go back with improved know-how and discuss this with the general members in the weekly meetings of the KSS. The members also learn the new practical skills from the model farmers when they work together in his field.

d *Capital Formation*

To boost up production and to increase the standard of living of farmers, formation of capital plays a very important role. Therefore, a systematic and continuous savings programme as a part of credit discipline has been adopted. Under this programme, each member is required to deposit a certain amount of fund each week to the society. Besides the saving deposits, farmers have to contribute to the share capital of the KSS.

e *Integration and Co-ordination*

The hard core of the Programme is its role in co-ordinating and integrating the activities of various nation-building departments. Government machinery has been extended up to thana level in order to serve the largest number of people. The TCCA provides an ideal forum for a collective approach by the local government functionaries. The TCCAs and their affiliated KSSs are organised and managed by the people themselves and policies are also framed by them. These institutions can be used as a vehicle by almost all the nation-building departments for diffusion of up-to-date technology, for feed-back of information and distribution of inputs etc. In practice, many of the agencies find it more convenient to administer their programme through the TCCA-KSS structure. The Thana Project Officers who act as ex-officio Secretaries of TCCAs maintain liaison between the TCCAs and various departments. It has thus been found feasible to work in an integrated and co-ordinated way.

Achievement of IRDP

The following table will give an idea about progress made by IRDP up to the month of June, 1978:

1	No. of thana covered	250
2	No. of primary societies formed	26,892
3	No. of members enrolled	753,244
4	Share Deposits	Taka 238.52 lakh*
5	Saving Deposits	„ 286.17 „
6	Total Capital Formation	„ 524.69 „
7	Agric. Credit Issued	„ 2738.57 „
8	Loans Realized	„ 1944.42 „

**Approx.* 30 *Taka* = £1. *A lakh* = 100,000 (*Ed*).

9	Training Imparted to Co-operators	Ave. of 15,000 man-classes per month
10	Hand Tube-wells distributed	70,000

It may be mentioned here that agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, improved seeds pesticides, etc., are also distributed among the farmers through the TCCAs. In the month May, 1978, an amount of 9525 tons of urea, 1123 tons of potash and 5367 tons of TSP were distributed among farmers in IRDP thanas. As for irrigation, apart from distribution of tube-wells, as many as 21367 power-pumps, and 820 deep tube-wells were installed in about 100 thanas.

Special Projects of IRDP

In addition to the main component of the Programme, a number of special projects have been undertaken with a view to expanding the scope of activities in diverse fields. The projects are listed below:

a STORAGE/GODOWN & MARKETING PROJECT

In order to link credit with marketing, it is imperative for the TCCAs to start storage and marketing of agricultural produce. For this purpose, a plan has been prepared to construct storage & godown in a number of selected thanas. Ten godowns have already been completed.

b YOUTH PROJECT

In order to mobilise the rural youth to participate in nation-building activities, IRDP now plans youth projects and these have already been started in four thanas of the country on a pilot basis.

c THANA WORKSHOP CUM TRAINING CENTRES

A large number of power pumps, deep and shallow tube-wells are already in operation in the country and the number is likely to increase in future. The use of power-tillers, sprayers, threshers and weeders is also increasing gradually. With a view to making the maintenance and repairing services of these tools available at the door-steps of the farmers, IRDP intends to establish a number of workshop-cum-training centres in the country. In these workshops, unemployed rural youths will also be trained so as to create a cadre of mechanics at village level. Two such workshops have already been established in 1978.

d POPULATION PLANNING & RURAL WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE

IRDP, with a view to involve the women-folk in nation-building activities, has started this project for women in 28 thanas of Bangladesh. Up to the end of 1977-78 financial year, 457 co-operative societies had been formed in these thanas. The number of members of these societies stands at about 15,000. They deposited around Tk. 200 lakh as share and Tk. 400 lakh as savings. These co-operative societies have the responsibility to motivate the rural women in matters of population control and family planning. The women-folk are also supplied with various family planning devices by these co-operatives.

Evaluation of the 'Comilla Model' as is replicated under IRDP

Having taken lessons from past experience, the highest priority was given to institution building with a view to organising the people into cohesive groups for participation in the rural development programme. IRDP has gone a long way in this field. It is now working in 250 thanas where over 27,000 KSSs with a total membership of over 7 lakhs are affiliated to the TCCAs. A system of micro-planning has been evolved whereby the farmers are getting their agricultural inputs on the basis of a 'production plan' prepared by the members of the co-operative societies themselves.

Through the introduction of a continuous training programme, IRDP has been able to bring home to the illiterate farmers the new technology and innovation in the field of agriculture and other related areas. Although no serious efforts were made to quantify the role of IRDP except one small study prepared by the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development in 1973-74 where a comparative analysis of 4 districts of Bangladesh has been made to show the trend of food production in these areas. From the study it was observed that the average rate of growth of paddy production in Comilla district was the highest among the four districts (28.75%), followed by Chittagong (25.32%) and Mymensingh (12.98%), while this was (−1.81%) in case of Faridpur district. Here it may be mentioned that in Chittagong also, TCCAs have been formed by local initiative on the lines of the 'Comilla Model'.[1]

Further back in 1966, a team of experts conducted an evaluation of the Programme in the seven thanas of the Comilla district and of the three thanas outside Comilla. It recommended among other things: "The principles of the 'Comilla Approach' sound as they are, appeared to be working well in practice in most of the projects".[2]

In 1967, the seven thana projects of the Comilla district were evaluated by a team of experts appointed by the erstwhile Government of Pakistan.[3] Its findings include:

1 there is a growing trend in the rate of accumulation of owned capital (shares and savings) by the co-operators . . . There is an increasing trend in the loan absorption capacity by the primary co-operatives.

2 the use of tractors in all the projects is on the increase. There is also an increasing trend in the land coverage per tractor. The irrigated area in the seven projects increased more than three times on an average.

3 mechanisation as a means to intensive cultivation is gaining the acceptance of the farmers in the co-operative villages. The use of fertilizer and plant protection measures in the seven projects in the two years beginning from 1965-66 shows a substantial increase over the preceding two years when the projects were not undertaken.

4 the over-all results of the limited marketing operations undertaken by the TCCAs in the seven projects during this short period are encouraging.

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[1]Ahmed Ghani: Rural Development in Bangladesh. An article published in the Bangladesh Times, Dacca (April 11, 1975).

[2]Bangladesh Rural Development Board: Proposals for the First Five Year Plan (1973-74 to 1977-78), Part III, January 15, 1973, p 7.

[3]*Ibid*, pp 8-9.

Further in 1968-70, the project-wing of the Planning Commission evaluated the Programme. Its findings are:

1 The performance of the Comilla Programme in the seven thanas undertaken in 1965-66 appear to be satisfactory compared to the investment made.

2 There has been a substantial increase in the yield of paddy in the co-operative villages.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion bears testimony to the hypothesis that the 'Comilla Model' as a vehicle for rural development has much relevance in the context of Bangladesh. The Model, developed out of an appropriate fund of knowledge about Bangladesh's own societies, their diverse sources of development experiences, represents a system of co-operatives which not only led to accumulation of capital, an increase in agricultural productivity and the widespread adoption of new agricultural innovations, but also to a substantial social psychological transformation among the villagers.[1] In the end, it would be pertinent to quote Dr Akhtar Hameed Khan, popularly known as the 'Father of the Comilla Model': 'As East Bengal (now Bangladesh) was remarkably homogeneous, some models were found to be suitable for replication. We envisaged that our pilot projects, energised by the Academy's research, would provide demonstration for training and guidance for practice for the entire province . . . I was often asked whether what had been learnt in Comilla could be practiced elsewhere. As far as East Bengal (now Bangladesh) was concerned, our answer was generally yes, except that we dislike haste and hurry'.[2]

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[1]Inayatullah: 'Emergence of a Rural Development Innovation in Comilla, Bangladesh'. The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol 2, No 1, October, 1976, p 80.

[2]Akhtar Hamid Khan: The Comilla Projects – A personal Account. International Development Review, Vol. XVI, No 3, 1974.

Organizing and Supporting Integrated Rural Development Projects: A Twofold Approach to Administrative Development

TOM ARMOR, GEORGE HONADLE, CRAIG OLSON and PETER WEISEL*

Problems in administration and organization loom large in the list of concerns perennially put forth by the managers and field staff of development projects. When a project must operate in a rural setting and is charged with the integration of income-generating activities and services, organizational shortcomings are frequently magnified. Yet project designs commonly give little attention to management (as opposed to technical) details.

This article argues that problems in rural development project management must be approached from two analytic viewpoints. The first may be called the *development administration* or *organizational*, point of view. The second may be called the *organization development* or applied behavioral point of view. Both approaches are valid and necessary. If they could be integrated into project analysis, then implementation might be substantially improved. However, neither approach can be used in a contextual vacuum. This article examines the context of integrated Rural Development (IRD), presents the advantages of each of the approaches noted above, and then offers a synthesis of the two as a practical strategy for improving development project management.

The Problem of Administrative Development in IRD

There is little agreement in the literature on a precise definition for integrated rural development, but the concept generally entails a *multisectoral*, sometimes referred to as a *total systems*, approach to the promotion of economic growth and socio-economic well-being among rural populations.[1] Thus integrated rural development projects often include – infrastructure, social services, agricultural production and small industry sub-systems. These sub-systems may be broken down into components such as roads, wells and irrigation (for infrastructure), non-formal education and basic health (for social services), field-testing , extension and storage (for agricultural production) and agricultural processing and non-farm manufacturing (for small industries).

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[1]See Manfred Leupolt, 'Integrated Rural Development: Key Elements of an Integrated Rural Development Strategy', *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol XVII, No 1/2, 1977.

For these activities to succeed, each must have a clear set of responsibilities and sufficient resources to carry them out. But for the project to succeed, these activities must be integrated. Inevitably this entails some blurring of jurisdictional boundaries. Tensions arise as responsibilities are assigned and attempts are made to co-ordinate their implementation. Coping with these tensions is a fundamental problem in the management of integrated rural development projects.

To promote integration, project designers draw up organization charts with boxes designating spheres of activity and lines between the boxes indicating either chains of command or areas of 'co-ordination'. What is too often missing, however, is any indication that boxes higher up have the authority or the resources to direct the boxes lower down; or whether parallel boxes have any incentives to co-ordinate their activities. Robert Chambers has pointed out that

> . . . the word 'co-ordination' provides a handy means for avoiding responsibility for clear proposals. It is perhaps for this reason that it is much favoured by visiting missions who are able to conceal their ignorance of how an administrative system works or what might be done about it by identifying 'a need for better co-ordination'. Indeed, a further research project of interest would be to test the hypothesis that the value of reports varies inversely with the frequency with which the word 'co-ordination' is used.[1]

The problem of orchestrating co-operation and co-ordination between agencies is familiar to all project managers who have had to rely on different agencies for decisions or support. It stems from the natural inclination of institutions toward self-preservation and aggrandizement.

The problem of exacting compliance from subordinates is perhaps less familiar but likely to be equally troublesome to project managers. Leonard found, for example, that agricultural extension agents in Kenya were consistently able to resist carrying out instructions without great risk of incurring sanctions from their superiors. Their tendency toward non-compliance, Leonard observed, was inversely related to the degree of 'authoritarianess' or arbitrariness by which superiors made decisions and issued orders.[2] This reinforces the notion that better organizational performance can be expected when decisions are reached through participation and information exchange.

Another key problem is the lack of *incentives* for co-operation. Assumptions about the nobility and good intentions of organizational actors must be discarded. In other words, incentives to co-ordinate and co-operate must be deliberately incorporated into project designs or reshaped during project implementation. Unfortunately, the lessons of experience are that incentives for inappropriate project staff behaviour are often stronger than those supporting the desired staff performance.

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[1]Robert Chambers, *Managing Rural Development*, Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974, pp 24-25.

[2]David K. Leonard, *Reaching the Peasant Farmer: Organizational Theory and Practice in Kenya*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Another frequently encountered problem, particularly among well-established organizations, concerns the direction of information flow. In many ministries communication is largely one-way, taking the form of directives from the top down. Lower-level staff are more comfortable with carrying out instructions than with transmitting information to their superiors. The result is that many decisions and subsequent activities are carried out in ignorance of realities in the field. A contracting problem is that managers find themselves inundated with data and cannot sort out what is useful from what is not. Thus, although the particular nature of the situation varies, communication problems can plague, and sometimes cripple, IRD efforts. In fact, this type of malady is typical of IRD projects for a simple reason – they tend to be complex and, as organizational complexity increases arithmetically, communication needs increase geometrically. Thus complex organizational arrangements are prone to such malfunctions.

In diagnosing problems, a primary task is to sort out whether a perceived problem has primarily a technical or inter-personal basis. The two areas are not unrelated. Technical incompetence can engender inter-personal difficulties, while inter-personal problems often affect technical performance. Our experience has been that first diagnoses often miss the inter-relationship. An office manager may be seen, for example, as 'unorganized', but the problem may be due less to the manager's personal competence than to the fact that he or she is receiving inadequate or contradictory guidance from higher-level staff. A field manager may be seen as unable to control subordinates, but again this may be due less to the field manager's personal skills than to the fact that many of the staff are seconded from another organization and therefore do not see themselves as being accountable to the field manager. Thus problem identification requires an exploration of both structural and personal factors.

Solution I: The Development Administration Approach

Development administration is the study, design and management of organizations responsible for constructing, funding and implementing development plans in less developed countries. It focuses on the structural relationships between various organizational entities in such terms as responsibilities, authority, flow of funds, career paths, legal and historical prerogatives, and incentive systems. Careful and comprehensive evaluation in these terms can lead to the design or redesign of organizational relationships to make them more supportive of integrated rural development projects' behavioral needs.

There are four recurring types of organizational strategies used for rural development projects:

i working through traditional line ministries, or agencies affiliated with line ministries, at the national level;
ii working through subnational governments or government agencies;
iii working through integrated development agencies; and
iv creating special project management units.

Experience with these arrangements in actual project situations, together with the advantages and disadvantages of such arrangements, are discussed in this section.[1]

Organizing rural development projects through established line ministries, particularly the agricultural ministry, is the most common development administration approach. There are several reasons for selecting this strategy. First, a ministry or agency is a permanent part of the government. Knowledge gained in the project might, therefore, spread to other programmes run by the same agency. Second, if a project is not limited to a specific area of the country, it is difficult to work through a sub-national government entity. Furthermore, projects often result from requests by ministries that intend to manage them. This narrows the choice for project placement.

Working through traditional line ministries also has a number of disadvantages: the capabilities of line ministries are generally limited to one or two narrowly defined functional areas, while rural development projects increasingly require the integration of a variety of functional activities; in order to carry out this variety of activities, the designated agency often must look to outside sources of expertise and capability. Another problem is that traditional ministries usually have their most capable personnel in the capital city, with much weaker capabilities in the rural areas where project activities will actually be conducted. In addition, ministries or large national agencies have many different programmes, so that there is sometimes a problem of how much priority and attention the project will receive within the ministry or agency itself.

Thus, in projects where traditional line ministries are used it becomes necessary to see how the agency can forge links with external organizations whose co-operation is necessary, as well as how it can co-ordinate its own internal activities and allocate operational responsibilities between headquarters and the field. This requires different tactics in each project.

The increasing popularity of integrated or area development projects has coincided in some countries with a movement toward decentralization – the devolution of decision-making authority and the control of development resources, from the centre toward the periphery of government. At the same time, it has been increasingly recognized that the best project implementation results can be achieved by locating primary operational responsibility at the lowest capable administrative level. A common strategy for implementing 'decentralization' is that of using 'integrated' project organizations to lower the level where cross-functional responsibility is held.[2]

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[1]For more detail, see especially Development Alternatives, Inc., *The 'New Directions' Mandate: Studies in Project Design, Approval and Implementation*, a report submitted to AID's Office of Rural and Administrative Development, January, 1978 (revised), Chapter Eight.

[2]See Arlyn S. Melcher, *Organization Structure and Process: A Systems Approach*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

One problem with attempts at decentralization, however, is that the lower one looks on the administrative scale, the lower, in all likelihood, are the government's administrative capabilities. The talent gap in developing countries typically finds an urban-rural, centre-periphery expression:

> The best brains, the 'best people' are concentrated in the capital city, and this centralization feeds upon itself, attracting the best of each new crop of young men to it. Career-opportunity, intellectual company, social life, all pull against the prospect of work in a distant province.[1]

The problem is compounded by the fact that many countries have made little effort to create viable rural institutions with which decentralized authorities can work.

Another common problem with attempts at decentralized implementation is that sub-national units of government find it difficult to gain control over the line ministries operating within their region, province or district. The administrative structures in Kenya and Tanzania are illustrative of two different approaches to resolving this problem. In Kenya there is a district government structure, with the Commissioner deriving his authority from the Office of the President. A District Development Officer, recruited and trained by the Ministry of Finance and Planning but reporting to the Office of the President, is responsible for co-ordinating line ministry activities and planning local assistance projects from a special development fund. But the line ministries maintain control over their own staff and funding and continue their largely autonomous planning and execution of nationally scheduled programmes. As a result, the attempts at district-level co-ordination of development activities in Kenya have met with little success.[2]

In Tanzania, the Regional Development Director derives his authority from the Prime Minister's Office, and line agencies also plan for and spend the majority of the development funds in any one geographical area. The authority of the regional chief is such, however, that the major planning efforts are co-ordinated at his district/regional level, and the line agencies expect, and receive, bottom-up planning. In Tanzania development assistance funds complement overall district planning efforts; they do not merely fill small gaps in the pre-programmed efforts of line ministries, as in Kenya.

In sum, turning over operational responsibility for a project to a sub-national entity (e.g., a provincial, regional or district government, a local development organization, or a decentralized, semi-autonomous government agency) has the advantage of bringing operational decisionmaking closer to 'ground level'. It may also make it possible to concentrate the control of resources in one organization, but more often this function is split at the local level, posing difficult problems of co-ordination and co-operation. However, decentralizing authority for development

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[1]Guy Hunter, *Modernizing Peasant Societies*, London: Oxford University Press, 1969, p 203.
[2]Peter F. Weisel, 'Some Issues Related to District Development (in Kenya)', Kenya Ministry of Finance and Planning and Development Alternatives, Inc., March, 1977.

decision-making does not obviate the necessity for integrating local development plans into overall national planning. Moreover, decentralization of project authority may pose a jurisdictional threat to previously powerful line ministries and it may also threaten host country or donor officials who insist on strict financial management controls over project activities.

If line ministries cannot do the job, and decentralization is not yet feasible, another approach is to work through integrated development agencies. These agencies often derive their authority directly from the Prime Minister or a President's office, and are given direct responsibility to implement or to co-ordinate the implementation of rural development projects in specified areas.

In the Republic of Senagal, for example, the government has divided the country into six agro-ecological zones and has created an equal number of public enterprises to manage rural development schemes in those zones. These enterprises enjoy a degree of financial autonomy, flexibility in administrative procedures, and freedom in recruitment and control over staff that has increased their efficiency in delivery of services.

A variant of the 'integrated development organization' approach is found in the Philippines.[1] Lead line agencies have been tapped for the chore of integrating activities of local line ministries in various IRD sub-projects. The lead line agency designated for each sub-project depends upon the focus and thrust of the development activities in question. Although this strategy does have the advantages of providing a concentration of project-specific technical skills and distributing the lead role among different agencies, problems result from the fact that field workers are often controlled more by home line agency requirements than by project needs.

In working through organizations that have been created for the precise purpose of 'integrating' rural development activities, it is sometimes possible to enjoy institutional competence and experienced personnel. Sometimes, too, these organizations have strong authority to co-ordinate activities in specified geographic areas. More often, however, they have limited authority, limited institutional and staff experience, and run up against the power and prerogatives of traditional line ministries. It is in these cases in particular that mechanisms and procedures for co-ordination must be created during project design. Otherwise, the main features of implementation will be organizational rivalries and bottlenecks.

If host country organization, administration, priorities, and institutional capability are too weak to support integrated rural development activities, a last option is to create a special project management unit. This is the approach frequently chosen by the World Bank for the rural development projects it supports. It reflects a strong desire for early benefits and bankable returns from project activities, but

[1] See George Honadle, 'Implementing Integrated Area Development in the Bicol', a report to the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Bicol River Basin Coordinating Committee, Development Alternatives, Inc., October, 1977.

less concern for the self-perpetuation of project benefits once foreign assistance is withdrawn.[1] This is a common result of a vestigial engineering view of organization design. However, its ability to succeed in non-physical infrastructure activities remains questionable.

Regardless of the overall organizational structure used to implement IRD, empirical research has shown that the probability of project success is significantly raised by such factors as effective two-way communication between project staff and farmers, the existence of local organizations within the project area, and organizational arrangements that give farmers a voice in project decisions.[2]

There are many ways to do this. Four creative tactics are being used to develop the capability of irrigator associations in the Bicol area of the Philippines. They are: (1) using project-level advisory committees that contain local leaders and farmers; (2) conducting planning workshops and joint programming exercises with both civil servants and farmers participating; (3) installing a field-level management information system with two-way reporting procedures that incorporate farmer communications; and (4) formally involving the irrigator association in periodic performance evaluation of project field staff.[3]

These four decision sharing tactics are neither comprehensive nor mutually exclusive. However, they are all practical and feasible methods that can be used in various combinations in different places at different stages of organizational development. Additionally, all have two advantages: first, they can help to minimize communication gaps that obstruct the implementation process; and second, they can help to assure that a viable beneficiary association will emerge from that process.

Solution II: The Organization Development Approach

In contrast to the emphasis of the development administration focus on structural relationships and formal procedures the organization development approach emphasizes the process of change in organizational relationships. In organization development the behavioural sciences are brought to bear on methods of understanding and facilitating change among, within and between people, groups, organizations and institutions. Organization development in this sense seeks to help people in organizational settings learn about their own behaviour, both organizational and interpersonal, and from this learning develop more functionally co-operative relationships. Restructuring of organizational relationships may come from this approach, but it would be a result of people's own learning and motivation.

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[1]See Gary Brewer, *Politicians, Bureaucrats, and Consultants*, New York: Basic Books, 1975, for a thorough discussion on methods of creating special management units to implement projects.

[2]Elliott Morss, John Hatch, Donald Mickelwait and Charles Sweet, *Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976.

[3]George Honadle, 'Beneficiary Involvement in Project Implementation: Experience in the Bicol', *Rural Development Participation Review*, 1979.

Within organization development, process consultation is defined as

> a set of activities on the part of the consultant which help the client to perceive, understand, and act upon process events which occur in the client's environment.[1]

This contrasts process consultation with the 'purchase model' of consultation, in which the client buys expert information or services. The key difference is that in the purchase method the consultant performs his service *for* the client, while in the process method the consultant involves the client in a *joint* or collaborative diagnosis and resolution of the problem at hand.

Process consultation is considered a major type of organization development intervention. In this sense it is contrasted to alternative interventions such as team-building, education and training, survey-feedback, or third-party peacemaking activities.[2] Others refer to the dichotomy between the purchase model and the process model and suggest that most consulting situations call for some combination of technical advice and process facilitation. In such situations they recommend a 'contingency' model of consulting, which combines the two models.[3]

The role of process consultation in organization development must be seen in the broader context of administrative development and IRD project design and implementation. Rural development projects should be developed using an evolutionary method of project design that encourages the collaboration of intended implementers, and the participation of potential beneficiaries, while setting aside resources that can be used to redesign projects during implementation.[4] The method relies on an iterative process of project development, using co-operative processes of information collection and feedback: Because of its emphasis of flexibility and adaptation, the 'process' approach is particularly well suited to projects where success is defined in terms of behaviour changes in a target population.

Process consultation aims at helping project management and project participants learn about their own way of doing things. In most organizational contexts this perspective is not readily obvious to members of the organization. People are typically part of organizations because of what they *do* or what they *know*. The process of actualizing the organization's purposes is most often obscured from conscious awareness by a daily bombardment with short-term problems and the

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[1]Edgar H. Schein, *Process Consultation: Its Role in Organization Development*, Reading, Ma.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969, p 9.

[2]Wendell L. French and Cecil H. Bell, Jr., *Organization Development: Behavioural Science Intervention for Organization Improvement*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973, pp 102-104.

[3]Newton Margulies and Anthony Raia, *Organization Development: Values, Processes and Technology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972, Chapter 5, "Consulting".

[4]Charles F. Sweet and Peter F. Weisel, 'Process Versus Blueprint Models for Designing Rural Development Projects', in George Honadle and Rudi Klauss, eds., *International Development Administration: Implementation Analysis for Development Projects*, N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1979.

requirements of substantive production.[1] Few technically trained people have ever had the opportunity to learn and develop skills of 'seeing' their own interpersonal processes and behaviour. Yet it is these processes that determine much of the behaviour and hence its performance. However, once these processes are made more visible and available to project participants, they are better able to take action to improve the performance of their organization.

A basic tenet of all organization development methodologies is that every organization has some unique characteristics. Indeed the professional consultant is most valued for his or her ability to develop a personal and collaborative relationship with the people in an organization and to recognise the myriad of variables (contingencies) that might indicate where, how or even whether to intervene.

Organization development interventions are based on real 'data' about real organizations operating in real contexts. Culture, values, history, norms, traditions, institutions, are all defined as part of the data to be 'collected before any interventions are considered. Some of this data collection may be implicit and based on general experience in a particular culture. However the organization development *methodology* does not make any assumptions about how people/organizations will or must behave. Real behaviour is the data for review and analysis in every case.

The key point for the behavioural scientist is the understanding that culture is (consciously or unconsciously) *learned* behaviour. Two concepts follow from this: one is that a newcomer can, with some effort, learn the fundamental value systems in a given culture, and understand how to work with them. At the same time, since culture is learned, the underlying basic psychological needs, drives, and expectations of human beings tend to transcend cultural differences and make it possible for the behavioural scientist to tap some common deeper level human concerns that lead to interpersonal behaviour patterns. Those patterns are manifested in day-to-day life as part of a person's cultural experience, but the core factors of need and motivation are similar around the world.

In terms of administrative development, then, the use of the behavioural sciences represents a tremendous untapped resource. Combined with the experience and skills of the development administrative specialist and a knowledge of technical issues, the organization development approach provides an additional dimension of human, cultural, and organizational diagnosis that complements and enhances the effectiveness of the effort. This 'synergy' of technical, administrative, organizational and behavioural skills and experience can help IRD projects to significantly improve their chances for success.

Solution III: a contingency approach

Our conceptual framework and technical approach have thus far been characterized in two ways. One emphasizes a structural, design-oriented strategy that we called

[1] In fact, most managers can give no significant time to any one subject. See Henry Mintzberg, *The Nature of Managerial Work*, New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

'development administration'. The second emphasizes a process-oriented strategy that we called 'organization development'. It is our experience that both approaches are essential for dealing with recurrent IRD organization and administration problems and for developing an improved capacity to undertake future efforts. The two strategies, moreover, are mutually reinforcing, rather than mutually exclusive. When used in tandem they can serve not only to increase the range of practical responses to field problems, but also suggest ways for minimizing the occurence of such problems in future projects.

Development administration is targeted on the design and implementation of structures and procedures to facilitate development. Such factors as budgeting, personnel administration, organization design, financial management, reporting systems, decentralization and functional versus spatial orientations are prominent clusters of analysis. However, analyzing these factors presupposes the authority to alter them. Thus development administration studies are aimed at a relatively high-level target audience.[1] These are the people who can affect the procedures and structures through which development plans must be implemented. They make the policies that others must live with.

It is these others, however, who are most often the target audience of organization development specialists. Organization development aims primarily at interpersonal obstacles to implementation, given the constraints imposed by those higher-level policymakers who determine the boundaries of organizational behaviour. Thus in one sense the difference between development administration and organization development is one of scale, while in another sense it is one of formality; development administration deals with larger units in a more formalized way, whereas organization development focuses on small units in a more informal way. Nevertheless the two approaches share a common concern that is itself a view of the relationships between them; that concern is for 'contingencies.'

A contingency approach assumes that 'it all depends' and that the most important task is to discover 'what it depends on'. Thus the idea that there can be a single best budgeting process or personnel classification system or organization design or leadership style is rejected. There is no universal/optimal mechanism to achieve certain results. At the same time, the idea that all situations are totally unique is also rejected. There are discernible patterns of environmental contingencies that influence the relative effectiveness of different interventions. Among these factors, the scale of the problem, the position in the organization of the person defining the problem, and the resources of those who do not see the situation as problematic, are all contingencies. In fact these contingencies help identify the relative desirability of development administration or organization development strategies.[2]

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[1]See for example Naomi Caiden and Aaron Wildavsky, *Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries*, New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1974.

[2]The discussion draws on George Honadle and Rudi Klauss, 'Recipes for More Practical Planning in the Face of Uncertainty', in Honadle and Klauss, *op. cit.*

Administrative reforms often fail for reasons of interpersonal dynamics. Thus the installation, adoption and continuing use of new procedures requires a sensitivity to an organization development process approach. In fact a development administration analysis, followed by an organization development intervention, may be the most effective sequence for implementing some reforms.

On the other hand, before consensus is reached on the need for a reform, it may be unfeasible to attempt to determine the substantive nature of the change. Thus organization development activity may be a prerequisite for development administration efforts. Local factors, then, may partially determine the impact of different sequences.[1]

In summary, then, a twofold development administration/organization development contingency strategy is posited as a necessary combination for improving the organization and implementation of integrated rural development. Moreover, that strategy should be carried out in a way that provides rural villagers with a voice in project decisions. Such an approach will not eliminate all obstacles, but without it there is great doubt that integrated rural development projects will lead either to service integration or to administrative development.

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[1]For more detailed examinations of situational factors affecting reform, see Ralph Kilmann, Louis Pondy and Dennis Slevin, eds., *The Management of Organization Design: Strategies and Implementation*, Vol 1, New York: North-Holland, 1976.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED KINGDOM - A Revival of Local Government? Collected Seminar Papers

For those who believe that the best and most genuine democracy is to be found at local level – down at the grassroots, this collection of seminar papers makes most heartening reading. In the immediate post-independence era, new national governments jealous of their new-found power and anxious to avoid possible divisive voices away from the Centre, tended to weaken local authorities – in some cases to abolish them, in others to exert excessively close central control and in some to withold the finances needed if the authorities were to carry out their obligatory functions with any measure of success.

Now, it seems, the pendulum has swung. As Keith Panter-Brick writes on Nigeria, Peter Dawson on Sri Lanka, William Tordoff on Zambia, John Howell on the Sudan, and the other contributors in the volume all show, innovation, restoration, improvement in the field of local government are under way in Africa and Asia. Indeed Ken Davey and Garth Glentworth entitle their brief paper 'the Second Coming?' and they point out that 'getting development to the people' is the forceful argument for decentralization in the late seventies, and in the case of the Southern Sudan devolution that can help to defuse local unrest.

It would be foolhardy to accept any degree of permanence in the present healthy tendency towards decentralization. The pendulum will doubtless swing back as individual governments grow impatient at local inadequacies and perhaps at local recalcitrance. Many new nations are ideologically motivated – e.g. Zambia by humanism, Tanzania by the Ujamaa village concept, and with dependence on the centre for resources, so will ideological conformity be required since the piper will inevitably call the tune. For the moment at any rate, local government in the Third World is rather more in the sphere of reality than of rhetoric – and despite great problems – economic, social and political, many failures and over-much bureaucracy, India's *Panchyati Raj* survives and in some areas flourishes, a lamp to encourage those in doubt elsewhere that perhaps participation in the management of local affairs at local level, is worth the trials and tribulations involved. For its part this Journal has tried over the years to encourage the development of competent local government bodies on a long term and not a transitory footing.

Copies of Seminar Papers No 23 can be obtained at £2 each from the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 27 Russell Square, London WC1.

UNITED KINGDOM - Conference on Rural Poverty, February 1979

This paper reports on a conference held at the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University and organized jointly with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. The conference examined how seasnonal aspects of disease, nutrition and rural economy related to rural poverty in developing countries. Presentations included specialized papers on climate, energy balance, vital events, individual tropical diseases, nutrition, rural economy, and women, and also multi-disciplinary case studies of tropical rural areas from the Gambia, Nigeria, Mali, Kenya, Tanzania, India and Bangladesh. While care is needed in generalising, the evidence suggested that for agriculturalists in the tropics, the worst times of the year are the wet seasons, typically marked by a concurrence of food shortage, high demands for agricultural work, high exposure to infections especially diarrhoeas, malaria, and skin diseases, loss of body weight, low birth weights, high neonatal mortality, poor child care, malnutrition, sickness and indebtedness. In this season, poor and weak people, especially women, are vulnerable to deprivation and to becoming poorer and weaker. Seasonal analysis is easily left out in rural planning. When applied it suggests priorities in research, and indicates practical policy measures for health, for the family, for agriculture, and for government planning and administration. The authors are hoping to develop a centre of information on seasonal health and nutrition programmes and anyone with information on such programmes already in existence is invited to write to Robert Chambers or Richard Longhurst at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE, Sussex, England.

Conference Report available from: IDS Communications, at the University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE, Sussex, England, price £1.

UNITED KINGDOM - New Journal about East Africa

We welcome a new contemporary, *HABARI*, published by the East African Association (the Secretary's address is: New Row, Kirkhamgate, Wakefield WF2 OSN, West Yorkshire). The first Number produced in high quality glossy paper and excellently printed, recalls early days in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zanzibar.

Book Reviews

Shelter after Disaster, IAN DAVIS; *Oxford Polytechnic Press, Headington, Oxford;* pp 127; £3.75 (paperback).

This is a much needed book on a very important subject for which there is a large but largely inaccessible literature. It is concise, richly illustrated, well referenced and indexed. It should be most useful to those who are responsible for agency policies and decisions influencing official responses to disasters and intended relief. It is also highly instructive reading for anyone concerned with development and the management of deliberate change, and it is fascinating general reading.

Ian Davis and his colleagues do not take a neutral position on the issues that are raised by the experience of providing shelter after disasters. These issues revolve around a central question of planned development and deliberate social change: What are the boundaries or limits of competence between local and central levels of decision-making and administration? As reported by Davis, his colleagues and the many sources quoted, it is clear that local capability for coping with local situations, even or perhaps especially when these are literally disastrous, is far greater than commonly assumed by those in central positions. As millions live in conditions little short of disastrous, this book which is about common conditions which are merely telescoped and exaggerated by additional calamities, is as relevant to development in general as it is to recovery and redevelopment.

Shelter After Disaster is divided into four main parts. Part I, 'A Vicious Spiral' discusses the relationships between hazards and hazardous conditions. It points out the often extreme vulnerability of the poor obliged to live in dangerous conditions and therefore subject to high risks. 95% of fatalities from disasters occur in Third World countries and the great majority of these are from the lowest income sectors. Part II, 'From Myth to Reality' identifies 25 popular misconceptions and half-truths under several heads; other myths about vulnerability (the principal being that disasters are caused by natural phenomena, rather than when these strike a dangerous condition); about social attitudes (for example, that morale after disasters is low and people are dazed and passive); about shelter needs (for example that in areas of high exposure risk shelter needs become matters of life and death and that there is a need for officials to provide large volumes of temporary accommodation for homeless families); about reconstruction (for example, that some forms of temporary housing is needed prior to reconstruction); and on the provision of aid (for example, that rapid recovery is dependent upon a rapid influx of aid). Part III, 'Filling the Gap' emphasises the necessity of treating housing 'as a process,

not as an object'. Davis explains the importance of continuity and accelerating established processes, rather than interrupting them with generally extraneous and often counterproductive innovations. The last section, IV, 'Historical Perspectives' is a tantalising glimpse of past experiences from the famine in Judea and the eruption of Vesuvius in the first years of the Christian calendar, to the San Francisco and Tokyo earthquakes and fires of the early 20th Century. An Epilogue details 6 recent cases, in which the author has been involved or has studied at first hand. There are also maps and 99 references to sources which are cross-indexed with sections of the contents.

The main limitation of this book is the disproportion between its length and content. As a working paper summarising experience, raising issues and setting out positions it is hard to fault. But, as such, it is only a beginning. One awaits the response of the relief agency establishment which is charged with more concern for their own success at getting funds than with how they are used; also from purveyors of technological gimmicks which are strongly attacked as generally counter-productive instruments furthering the interests of the rich at the expense of the poor.

JOHN TURNER

The Execution Process, ANDREW DUNSIRE; *Martin Robertson and Company Ltd., Oxford,* 1978; Volume I, Implementation in a Bureaucracy; pp 260. Volume II, Control in a Bureaucracy; pp 263; £15.00

Implementation in a Bureaucracy and *Control in a Bureaucracy*, with their common title, *The Execution Process*, are an important contribution to the welcome series of works on government and administration published by Martin Robertson and Company. Although the title of this study in bureaucracy may give the impression that the major concern is to be with the operation of the machinery of government, this is not the case. It is not the intention of the author to consider the advantages and limitations of alternative government structures, to examine specific management practices of public agencies, or to evaluate different strategies of policy implementation. The work is a contribution to organisational analysis. It is abstract, in the sense that it is detached from the day to day work of any one government department. Its focus of concern is administrative theory, and it is a discussion, and a refinement and elaboration, of a conceptual framework of bureaucracy. Thus the purpose is to add to one's understanding of the nature of bureaucracy, and this is achieved through the development of an analytical framework within which both managers and students of administration can examine and reflect on theories of the administrative process. Although the study does include an outline of the component parts of one administrative activity – the closure of a railway branch line in Yorkshire – this is an illustration of legal documents and official communications which were part of the colosure process; these procedures are not subject to any scrutiny, comment or evaluation as to their administrative merit. The description of this administrative activity is provided as a measure against which different theoretical propositions can be examined. Thus the two volumes are not about how best to

manage the implementation process, but about understanding the nature of implementation; not about what to do, but analysing what is done.

Volume I, *Implementation in a Bureaucracy*, takes what is essentially an 'ideal' type of bureaucracy as a starting point, and through a wide ranging review of the literature identifies different ways in which authors have approached their examination of the conceptual framework of bureaucracy. These concepts include the administrative structure and the linked distribution of tasks; the offices which form the structure; the relationships between these offices, at both the horizontal and vertical levels; and the nature of authority which orders, co-ordinates and controls these offices. Following the review of the current literature on the implementation process, two constructs are suggested, the 'pyramid', which emphasises hierarchy, and the 'network', which emphasises linkages, within which the conflicting views of some of the major contributors to the field can be ordered. These constructs or models introduce the central discussion of the volume, which is the sequence of the implementation process, and which includes an elaboration of the notion that this process is generally *aggregative* rather than *developmental* in nature. The extension of this notion through a series of propositions about the nature of bureaucracy, is both stimulating and thought provoking to the student and practitioner of administration.

The discussion in Volume I assumed that bureaucracies enjoyed a state of 'perfect implementation'. Volume II, *Control in a Bureaucracy*, redresses the balance through its focus on the concept of control, that is the way in which a bureaucracy identifies and corrects errors. The literature on this aspect of the implementation process is examined, and previous approaches to the concepts of authority, co-ordination, monitoring and control are considered. This review provides for a contrast to be drawn between two images of the control process. On the one hand is the view that offices in a bureaucracy form an inherently hierarchical structure, in which power resides at the top and flows from the top. On the other, is the view that a bureaucracy is an assembly or grouping of 'autonomous' offices, in which power does not flow from the top, but is distributed between offices. This notion of 'autonomous' offices is developed by way of a set of statements or assertions about the nature of the control activity into a model of the process of control in which the question of stability within the bureaucracy is considered, and emphasis is given to the marginality of the control actions through which forces already existing in the bureaucracy are kept in equilibrium.

Although wide ranging and reflective, *The Execution Process* is not a seminal work, no new theory is presented, nor radical approach contrived; nor is it an empirical work, based upon findings from one or more field studies. Essentially it is a commentary on a wide range of contributions to a particular aspect of administrative theory, and an examination and reassessment of a particular set of concepts. The study might be said to have two aims: a limited one, in the sense of reviewing and refining current theories of the implementation process; and a larger aim, which is to stimulate thought about the nature of bureaucracies, and encourage further study and discussion. In these respects, the study is eminently successful. The

models presented provide new insights into the bureaucratic process, and, although they may well create dissent, they will certainly stimulate discussion. *The Execution Process* deserves a wide audience.

However, as far as readers in Third World countries are concerned, there may be constraints on following and enjoying the author's discussion. The first may be the requirement of a prerequisite level of knowledge. *Implementation in a Bureaucracy* and *Control in a Bureaucracy* are commentaries, the discussion resting upon a large and specialised bibliography. Although guidelines to the nature and scope of the current literature are given through quotations from various works, these extracts cannot do justice to the complex arguments contained in the sources quoted. Consequently, it is possible that either extensive knowledge of, or access to the considerable literature under review is required, to follow the author's discussion.

The second possible limitation is concerned with the question of administrative values. In general, the approaches and concepts discussed by the author are those developed by British and American scholars, and the essential literature originated in the United States. Although it is concepts which are the focus of the discussion, not conclusions stemming from the examination of some 'real world' administrative activity, there appears to be an assumption of common, or similar institutional environments. But to what extent is such an assumption appropriate, and to what extent are concepts and models value free? If analytical frameworks have been formulated by, say, American authors, they are, presumably, based on and derived from American administrative experience and practice, and the question of their suitability and relevance for use as analytical tools in other administrative cultures must surely be considered. For example, in *Control in a Bureaucracy* we are told that the analysis of Kaufman and Couzens – based on a study of nine Public Offices in Washington – 'fits well with the theory being developed here and can simply be incorporated'. It may well be that the sources of administrative feedback identified by Kaufman and Couzens, and the conclusions of their research, match the experience obtaining in bureaucracies in other countries, but this is not self-evident. Thus, rather than a blanket acceptance, it may perhaps have been helpful if some indication had been given, or qualification noted, that an examination of British practice, or that of another country, may have resulted in a different emphasis being applied to certain aspects of this concept of control, or even an alternative formulation of the concept being suggested. As it is, the overseas reader has not only to reflect on the relevance and adequacy of the empirical work, or the type of administrative experience which has resulted in the formulation of a particular set of propositions or concepts, but also has to evaluate and assess such concepts within the framework of his own country's administrative practices, in order to determine their efficacy as a means of increasing his understanding of his own bureaucratic process. This is not an easy task.

The third factor which may limit the full understanding of the reader is the author's use of language. The volumes are rich in metaphor and analogy. Such illustrative devices can of course serve a useful purpose in the explanation of concepts and

theories. They can make use of what is known and understood to explain and clarify that which may be imperfectly understood. But difficulties can occur in the use of such a device. It is possible, for example, for an analogy to be misused. Rather than explain and clarify a statement or concept, it can be presented as support for, or evidence in favour of a particular point of view. In *Implementation in a Bureaucracy*, at the conclusion of the discussion on models and sequences, the analogies of a pocket-watch and a chemical plant are used as alternative illustrations of a particular administrative activity: the sequence of events within the Ministry of Transport involving the closure of a railway branch line. The chemical plant analogy is claimed to be the more 'appropriate', in that it illustrates more clearly the nature of the administrative activity. However, rather than see this as explanation, the attention of the reader may be diverted to the question of whether two such contrasting analogies – simple pocket-watch, and complex chemical plant – could be an attempt to 'prove' a particular view of the nature of the administrative process. The second problem with analogies is that they can be overworked. For example, when, in Volume II, the discussion involves the concept of self-regulation, the following analogies are presented: a watch or clock, lavatory cistern, motor vehicle, amplifier, jet engine, wine-dispenser, thermostat, windmill, steam-engine, locomotive, and an underground train. With so many illustrations being used, it is easy to overlook the point of the discussion. Third, rather than illuminate, there is a danger that analogies can obfuscate. Each volume contains a major example of illustration by analogy. In *Implementation in a Bureaucracy*, when the sequence of implementation is under discussion, that is the process involving the exchange of information through and by which instructions are prepared and executed, the analogy of vertebrate physiology is used to illustrate this activity. Interesting though this subject might be, I find that a chapter, some 15 pages of description, tells me far more about such matters than I wish to know, and, as it is hardly the use of the known to define the abstract, the illustrative aspects are beyond me. In Volume II, at the point at which types of control mechanism in a bureaucracy are being considered, and the notion of equilibrium through the balance of opposing forces in tension is under discussion, the analogy used to illustrate this process is that of bodily homeostatis. To me, however, six pages of description as to the working of the hypothalamus and the kidneys is gratuitous information, and hardly adds to my understanding or appreciation of control in a bureaucracy. This is, of course, a personal view, and many readers may enjoy such discursive passages, and be intrigued by the range and variety of the analogies which are used. But there is another facet of the use of language which overseas readers may find odd, or perhaps obscure, and which may lead to a break in one's concentration on the discussion: the asides which the author makes from time to time. For example, what will, I wonder, be made of the following: 'These words, like Humpty Dumpty's, clearly mean what they are told to mean by whoever pays them most'; 'as did the non-barking dog in Conan Doyle's story'; ' – at the risk of flogging a dead horse – '; 'that return has a fishy smell'; 'according to Josh Billings'; 'Consequently, C will apply spur and crop to D;' 'That's some catch that Catch 22', Yossarian observed. 'It's the best there is', Doc Daneeka agreed.'

In Volume II, when discussing the attributes of rules, the author points out that,

'we may call *elegant* a rule that combines parsimony, good discrimination and certainty with relative simplicity of treatment, yet handles highly complex problems.' Although *The Execution Process* may be stimulating, argumentative, discursive, wide-ranging, and rewarding, alas, elegant it is not.

CHRIS DAVIES

Training for Development, ROLF P. LYNTON and UDAI PAREEK; *Kumarian Press, West Hartford, Connecticut, USA,* 1978; index; pp 408; £10.00.

This is the first paperback edition of a comprehensive and systematic book on training, published in 1967, by two experts on training with excellent training experience, one in USA and one in India. It is now reissued, without revision, as the first title of the 'Library of Management for Development series' published by the Kumarian Press.

This was one of the most comprehensive books on training in the mid-1960s. It was based on a behavioural approach, which was very popular in the 1960s. This book covers the general question of training (training concepts, training process, and training strategy), the role of the three major partners in training (the participant's organization, the participant, and the training institution), the three phases of training (pre-training, training, and post-training), as well as other important aspects of training, such as methodology, design, trainer, evaluation, training climate, etc. The various problems are discussed systematically and presented clearly. It had several reprints since 1967, including one in India. There is no doubt that even today this is a useful book for those interested in training, both in the developed and the developing countries.

The reissuing of this 1967 book without revision raised the basic question whether the behavioural approach as presented by the two authors is too narrow to meet the need of today's situation. In any case, as the training field has itself undergone many important changes, the book would have been very much enriched if progress in the last ten or eleven years could be incorporated in the form of revisions.

Looking at the book today, one may say that it does not give adequate attention to the question of training need. It is true that this book, more than many training books published in the 1960s, did emphasize the importance of basing training programmes on training needs. In fact the authors said that 'effective training calls, in the first place, for clarity of objective' (p 29), and they were fully aware of the fact that acquisition of knowledge and skill has an important place in training for development. However, as the authors were anxious to replace the more traditional concept of training as 'acquisition of subject matter knowledge' by their behavioural definition of training as changing behavioural patters, they declared at the outset that training 'is in truth not for knowing more but for behaving differently' (p ix). Because of this, this book did not discuss questions relating to the need for training the participants with new knowledge and skill necessary to carry on their jobs, which are continuously changing because of technological changes, changes in

objectives, changes in environment, etc. The authors were fully aware of 'the changing nature of jobs' (p 79), but they did not go further into those changes which would require new knowledge and skill on the part of the workers. This omission is especially serious when we are on the eve of the 1980s, in view of the many technological changes and managerial changes in the 1970s. So far as the behavioural aspect of training is concerned, this book's coverage is good and comprehensive. Perhaps an additional section giving a full discussion of the problem of what Veblen and Merton called 'trained incapacity' would be helpful, because actions based upon effective training could be so internalized that they became dysfunctional under changed conditions. This question could be covered under post-training, if one should take a longer viewpoint.

Another point which we indicated above concerns the many developments in training in the late 1960s and in the 1970s. We can understand the reasons why a revision to include these was not done, partly because the two authors are now working in different parts of the world and partly because any introduction of new methods outside the behavioural approach would require a basic change in the structure of the book. This could perhaps be remedied by including such new developments in the new numbers in the 'Library of Management for Development series' issued by the publishers. The second number of this series, already published, is *An Integrated Approach to Organization Development and Performance Improvement Planning*, which contains a description of some latest developments in Organization Development (OD), as well as the Performance Improvement Planning (PIP) methodology initiated by the United Nations Public Administration Division. If more new developments should be covered in the future numbers of the series, then they could together provide a useful package for training.

So far as the book under review is concerned, as long as one understands its limitations, it would remain useful for those interested in training today and in the near future.

CHI-YUEN WU

A Positive Approach to the International Economic Order, Part One, A. MACBEAN; *British-North American Committee;* pp 61; appendices; £1.75.

This study encompasses a large and complex field with clarity and commendable compactness. Its purpose, in the author's words, is to analyse the implications of various policy proposals which have been put forward at UNCTAD and elsewhere to promote the aims of the developing countries in the field of international trade and to consider some alternative policies.

The first substantive issue addressed is that of trade in primary commodities. Here Buffer Stocks, especially in the context of the Common Fund, come under scrutiny, with largely pessimistic results. The author states that for the vast majority of people in the Third World export fluctuations are probably of little significance and that the alleged deterrent effect of export earnings instability on income growth

is far from established. Equally doubtful is whether Buffer Stocks can stabilize commodity prices. On the basis of past experience reduction in price instability through buffer stocking is extremely uncertain of attainment, at best limited, and applicable to products which are storeable at reasonable cost.

Even if stocking arrangements can be successfully negotiated and prices stabilized, the author doubts, rightly, whether export *earnings* can be stabilized, especially if the major originating factors in *price* fluctuations are on the supply side. In view of this, the author tends to favour compensatory finance schemes as a more direct and possibly cheaper means of stabilizing export revenues, while at the same time not belittling the problem of price instability (which CFSs do nothing to mitigate). As to moderating price instability, the author recommends, *inter alia*, a wider spread of information about the operation of commodities markets and the reduction of government intervention in commodities markets which is often destabilizing.

The author has little sympathy with attempts to engineer increases in the trend price of commodities, which he believes to be misconceived. Insofar as this is related to the general problem of resource transfer from rich to poor countries, this is a matter more appropriately dealt with in the context of aid policy proper.

Next, under the general heading of trade in manufactures, the author offers brief accounts of the generalised system of preferences, the benefits of which to LDCs empirical analysis have indicated as being fairly small; the relative importance of exports of manufactures to LDCs, still mainly concentrated in a handful of (mainly) richer LDCs; and remaining obstacles to LDCs' manufactured exports, pointing to LDCs' own commercial policies (e.g. overvalued exchange rates), intra-LDC trade barriers, and protection in the industrialised countries, especially in the form of quantitative restrictions. Although some benefits would remain to be reaped from improvements and expansion of coverage of the GSP, the author believes the LDCs to be mistaken in their search for preferential treatment (as in the present round of GATT negotiations), and that they would be in a stronger position to argue against non-tariff barriers if they were more willing to make concessions of their own and to seek instead for equal treatment. The author himself admits however that such concessions may not actually amount to much in terms of increasing LDC imports from industrial countries, and that the latter are clearly reluctant to open their domestic markets to LDCs' exports.

This leads naturally on to the question of the so-called adjustment problem: how important is it and what, if anything, to do about it. Most governments acknowledge the long-term advantages of free (or freer) trade; the problem lies in the short and medium term unemployment that may result in the industries subject to increased import competition, especially if, for a variety of reasons, it is difficult to find alternative jobs for those same people, e.g. in industries likely to benefit from new export opportunities. Empirical evidence suggests that the employment displacing effect of imports from LDCs is small compared with other influences (e.g. changing tastes, technological developments). However, this does little to alleviate the political and technical problems confronting policy makers in which the social costs of

'adjustment' are all too obvious and concentrated in a few fairly definable and sensitive areas, while its potential benefits are less easily discernible and diffused. The author points to some of the more well-known technical and theoretical remedies, such as the GATT safeguard mechanism, investment incentives, income support and retraining, the need to develop an early warning system etc., but mention of these tends to state the problem rather than offer a politically feasible, technically efficient and socially just course of action.

Overall, this booklet makes for a highly readable (sometimes slightly polemical) guided tour around the main points of the NIEO debate: no hard and fast solutions are offered, but the problems of the real world such as confront policy makers and negotiators tend to be rather discounted.

P. D. BALACS

The Guidimaka Region of Mauritania: a critical analysis leading to a development project, P. BRADLEY, C. RAYNAUT, J. TORREALBA; *War on Want* (UK), 1977; pp 173; No price quoted.

The review copy of this publication must have been delivered very hot from the press, since the first few pages are assembled incorrectly and some are missing. It takes a little while therefore to move through the gears, but once in top and cruising all is well. This is an extremely workmanlike and readable account of the assumptions made in recommending a specific project for funding by War on Want in collaboration with the Government of Mauritania.

Case Studies are now a fairly standard ingredient in teaching development.[1] This reviewer has been familiar with a particular case-study in use for three years and has been agreeably surprised by the reaction of successive groups of students to the data presented. The temptation to prescribe is hard to resist since this is what development is conventionally understood to imply. Planning of some kind is fashionable with a current focus on the region. But the authors of the analysis along with those students referred to are largely resisting the trend and settling for enabling action to give the objects of development mainly the rural poor a real chance to develop themselves. The outcome of the analysis of the Guidimaka Mauritania region is therefore the establishment of village associations to control an extension service financed by a village budget to which the aid funds will be applied.

This conclusion is arrived at on the basis of the best appreciation possible in circumstances of poverty in research resources welcomed as a matter of policy and concentrating on the ecology of the region on the one hand, and the phenomenon of migration on the other. The real wealth of the region depends on remittances of able-bodied young men carrying out unskilled work in Metropolitan France. This is neo-colonialism but it is a fact of life which any balanced development of

[1]Caroll M. Parish: Teaching and learning methods and materials in selected University courses for Overseas students, University of Reading, 1977, pp 34-39.

the region is forced to recognise. In the very long run this dependence on the exterior may be reduced but in the meantime the step-by-step improvement of the indigenous resources of the region of which the farmers wisdom is perhaps the most significant can make use of the inflow of funds. War on Want's contribution will be £200,000 over 5½ years divided equally between the support an devaluation team, operating costs (local salaries and expenses) and village budgets.

As D. S. Thornton observed recently,[1] 'all rural development does not have to originate and be channeled through the bureaucracy; there are other more modest levels at which aid can be effectively transmitted from those who have access to scientific knowledge and financial resources to those in need of help. It must be a cause for great satisfaction in the United Kingdom for instance, that the policy of development assistance pursued by the voluntary agencies is now being constructively encouraged from official sources'.

This book shines as a good deed in the sometimes naughty world of development theory.

L. W. NORWOOD

[1]Reading Rural Development Communications Bulletin 5, p 24.

A Demographic Analysis of East Africa: A Sociological Interpretation, MONSTED & WALJI; *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala,* 1978; pp 211; Skr 40.

To read the Introduction to this book is not its best introduction. The authors profess a concern about what they see as the narrow statistical approach to demography and its weakness in aiding an understanding of development problems. One main purpose of the book is thus to 'tie the analysis of demographic data to a sociological framework'. In doing this the authors 'attempt to change the focus or approach relating to the basic, or conventional, (demographic) variables towards a more analytical sociological interpretation', which they think 'could be perceived as the first step towards a more analytical development discipline'.

Alas the book contains no new focus or direction in the analysis of population and the development process. It would be surprising if it did, for the author's apparent belief that the study of population dynamics is still narrowly statistical is largely erroneous. In fact a great deal of effort is being expended on interpreting and analysing the complex interrelationships between population and development, and the emphasis in this is on the sociological, economic, anthropological and related aspects of the problem. However, there are still probably insufficient intermediate-level textbooks that reflect this wider view and there is certainly a need for texts with a regional emphasis. It is perhaps therefore more against this volume's second declared aim of producing 'a textbook in demography which analyses East African demographic data, within a sociological framework', that it should be considered.

The book covers a very wide field from world population historical trends, through demographic theories onto the collection, evaluation and interpretation of the standard demographic variables, and finishes with a chapter on population policies. The derivation of the basic demographic rates and ratios etc., is covered but it is in this area perhaps that the book is weakest; for example, the brief section on life table construction would probably confuse more students that it would enlighten. It is in this sort of technical area however that a sociological and regional emphasis is less relevant and the book could be supplemented by any of a number of good standard demographic textbooks. Indeed it would be no substitute for such a text for students requiring more than just a superficial grasp of the techniques of demography. The book is also surprisingly deficient in describing the many techniques for correcting defective data in developing countries, many of which were originally developed for use in Africa. It is in considering, from an East African viewpoint, the basic demographic variables and the influences on them that this book comes more into its own. The chapters on Nuptuality, Fertility and Migration in particular make use of regional experience and examples effectively (although the statement that sterilisation is illegal in Kenya (p 105) is surely incorrect). There is an interesting contrast between Chapter 13 on Population Growth and Chapter 15 on Population Policies which may reflect different approaches of the two authors. The former chapter goes out of its way to minimise the negative effects of high population growth rates whereas the latter shows the real concern felt about this by several countries in the region. East Africa may have room and even use for a larger total population, but the best way to achieve that is almost certainly not at present rates of growth. If this book is to influence future and present administrators in the region, it could well have given greater emphasis to the educational, employment and other problems of national populations doubling every 20 to 30 years.

It is always encouraging to see textbooks designed for the use of students in developing regions to whom the standard western works may seem of limited relevance. However, it would be difficult to recommend that this book be used as the mainstay of a demography course without adequate supporting texts. Nevertheless it will repay selective reading by any interested in population questions in East Africa.

M. McDowall

Barefoot over the Serengeti, David Read; *Cassel, London,* 1979; illustrated, maps; pp 187; £5.25.

To many, the East African white settler is pictured as a well-to-do usually patronising, often arrogant farmer, out of touch and out of sympathy with his African neighbours and African employees.

David Read shows the other side of the coin. Pioneer farmers such as his mother and step-father with negligible capital struggled to survive locusts, lion, hail, drought, rinderpest, anthrax. No money for schooling meant that young David from nine to

fourteen lived 'wild' with his Masai friends, learned to trek and to hunt; to live rough and to walk barefoot: illiterate when most white boys of his age were being schooled, yet self-sufficient and knowledgeable in African ways where they were quite ignorant, speaking African tongues they would never know.

David Read has refreshed his memory on Masai customs and legends, and here is a book full of simply-told Masai tales, anthropology of immense interest coming not from a scholar but from an observer who lived closer to the Masia youths and Moran than mature professional students could ever hope to get.

To those of us who covered some of the same ground 20 years or so later; better, often permanent roads; more efficient lorries and box-body cars, generally improved communications and much more advanced medicine for man and beast, David Read's tough youthful existence seems almost another world.

What impresses one is the honesty with which this story is told; there is nothing of the arrogant boasting of great deeds; indeed there emerges the picture of a boy of courage and adaptability, often afraid, obviously friendly and able to obtain insight into the ways his young African friends thought and acted.

This is certainly a book that is strongly to be commended to the general reader with interest in the wide open spaces of Africa, to the social anthropologist and to the African student of history, to all who would study the decline of African nomadic people – perhaps the Masai who straddle the Kenya/Tanzania border may provide their final bastion.

No doubt an observant reader will spot some errors and misspellings (e.g. Churia for Chunya, Lengido for Longido on the Map) and was it not Captain Dallas who had lost a leg, not Darley? But this in no way detracts from his fascinating memoirs which David Read tells exceedingly well.

P.H.J.

Book Notes

The Development of Agricultural Policy in Zambia, 1964-71, CAROLE L. DIXON; *Department of Geography, University of Aberdeen;* tables; pp 44.

Carole Dixon has written a balanced, useful monograph on Zambian agriculture. When she concludes that 'it is difficult to judge whether certain policies were based on political pressures or on ideological grounds – without suggesting agricultural necessity or agro-economics', one realises how difficult it has been for Dr Kaunda to seek self-sufficiency in food in a country where disparate wages between wealthy copper mining and modest-incomed farming have stimulated migration from the rural to the urban areas. Indeed the early post-independence (Brown) wages report which resulted in equal basic pay for rural and urban workers, must be regarded as a major cause of the population decline in the North and thereby gravely affected the capacity of the farming community to increase production on the scale the nation needed. The egalitarianism implicit in Zambia's overall humanist policies, does not accord with the emergence of African elitist farmers as the successors to large-scale expatriate operators. If food production is really to be increased adequately then Carole Dixon may well be right to suggest that the humanism ideology needs to be modified or revitalised.

Towards village Industry: a strategy for development, BERG NIMPUNO, VAN ZWANENBERG; *Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd., London,* 1978; illustrations; pp 88; £3.25.

Ways and means of developing small rural industries by use of local materials and tools are simply and clearly set out in this admirable and well illustrated handbook. There are chapters on training for production, on Village Workshop Equipment, School building, and recycling industry. All-in-all this small booklet makes a valuable addition to the Intermediate Technology Group's valuable list of practical publications aimed at inexpensive self-help development in rural areas of the Third World.

RESEARCH REPORT NO. 48
A Critique of Appropriate Technology for Underdeveloped Countries, M. R. BHAGAVAN; pp 56; Skr 10.

RESEARCH REPORT NO. 49
Inter-Relations between Technological Choices and Industrial Strategies in Third World Countries, M. R. BHAGAVAN; pp 79; Skr 10.

RESEARCH REPORT NO. 50
Industrial Planning and Development in Mozambique: some preliminary considerations, TORP, JENS ERIK; pp 59; Skr 10.

All three small volumes were published in 1979 by the *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.*

Report No. 48: While the scope of No '48' is more limited than No. '49' the author races at too great a speed and does not really allow himself sufficient time to think, once he has set out with commendable brevity and precision the relevant definitions. While it is fair enough, indeed salutary, to look sharply at 'Aptech' since all too many see in it a panacea for the economic ills of many a developing country, the conclusions here are too jumbled and generalised, and lack sufficient evidential backing to justify the author's theme. Strangely one must note no apparent reference to ITDG.

Report No. 49: Accepting the need for industrialization if high per capita incomes are to be achieved and that the extent and rate of industrial progress and the strategy followed on political decision-taking, the author proceeds to examine the concepts on which policies have been based i.e. 'self-reliance' (not unfairly if a little harshly portrayed as implemented in Tanzania). He proceeds to look at the choices of technology available and concludes with a series of interesting tables and

statistics covering industry groups, foreign private investment, exports, growth rates and unemployment.

Mr Bhagavan manages to provide a very good deal of information in remarkably few pages, backed by a sensible balanced perception of the realities of Third World Development.

Bureaucracy or Participation – The Logic of Organization, BENGT ABRAHAMSSON; *Sage Library of Social Research;* index; pp 240; £9.50 (cloth); £4.75 (paper).

This is a tiresome pedantic book about bureaucracy which, from the start, the author seems to regard as a synonym for organisation. Of course every bureaucracy is some form of organisation, but many an organisation has nothing to do with bureaucracy.

One is led to wonder through what strange glasses do the theorists regard the management of government business! The bumbling efforts of fallible man, sometimes competently, sometimes incompetently led: sometimes assisted by brilliant technicians, sometimes affected adversely by well-meaning but stupid or bigoted 'experts', there is no clear pattern discernible to an objective onlooker. While the political scientists carry on their dry academic debate the citizens of the free world face not the niceties of theoretical discussions but the very real danger of the loss of their liberties at the hands of tough rough pragmatists who will use any theory for a while if they think it could help them achieve their own and alas all too often sinister ends.

La Revolution Agraire en Algerie, LARS JONSSON; *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Research Report* 47, *Uppsala,* 1978; pp 84; Skr 10.

The Author sets out to explain why the well-intended agricultural reforms initiated by the Boumedienne regime have achieved only a limited measure of success. With the arrogance typical of radical theorists 'the low political awareness of the peasants' is blamed, and, of course the revolutionaries' usual whipping boys – large landowners, businessmen and local bureaucrats 'actively, partly on the verbal level' (sic).

No doubt it is very frustrating for politically-minded agro-planners to find in peasant conservatism a reluctance to appreciate what is good for the peasantry; yet maybe a mirror would help show where the mote lay.

Geography of Elections, P. J. TAYLOR and R. J. JOHNSTON; *Penguin Books,* 1979; Figures, Tables, Index; pp 528; £2.95.

The authors have put together a fascinating study of elections and electoral systems drawn from far too many geographical areas to be listed in a short review. 1979 as they rightly point out is to be a unique year with elections for an international Parliament and it is a pity perhaps that the authors have not had the opportunity to include here their views on the whys and wherefores of the lamentably small poll in Britain compared with her European partners.

Particular attention is drawn to the 'spatial variations in voting' . . . (to) 'locational variables' and to the translation of votes into seats through the division of a country into constituencies.

The authors discuss electoral abuses – numerical and boundary discriminition gerrymandering, electoral reform and alternative electoral systems. This reviewer once had the task of collecting information on commonwealth electoral systems for consideration by an overseas dependency beginning to move towards self-government, and was amazed to find so many variations existed – even in a single country, Ceylon, where means of ensuring a burgher MP were devised.

While most of the focus is on Britain, North America and Australasia, a quick look is had at several Third World countries and it should be noted (writing as the Liberals denounce the absence of PR from the Euro-elections just held) that the ease with which a non-democratic result can emerge from use of the single transferable vote, is made very clear indeed. Those damned party lists seem to be fairest, but where then the fun of the personal fray at constituency level?

Oil and World Power, PETER R. ODELL; *Penguin Books Ltd.;* Maps, Figures, Index; pp 272; £1.50.

The changing scene in World Oil Sources, production and potential justifies the fifth revised edition of Peter Odell's book since it first appeared in 1970. Events in Iran, yet greater Mexican discoveries, developments in China and in Europe too, will no doubt result in a Sixth Edition before long.

The World's energy problems are of such immense importance to every state that for those who wish to keep up-to-date with economic prospects of poor and rich alike, a standing order for each new edition is to be commended.

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